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CZARISM AT BAY.

BY KARL BLIND.

I.

As the forces of Czardom are driven back and crippled more and more, both on sea and on land, curious attempts are being made in England to impress public opinion with the idea that, if ever she were actively to turn against Russia, she would have to reckon with an armed alliance between Russia and Germany. An Australian writer writes in a Liberal London paper, after having travelled through the Muscovite Empire:

"I saw quite enough to make me know that the Czar of Russia is at this present moment holding in a grip of iron the war party in St. Petersburg, who, rightly or wrongly, imagine that Britain's present Government intrigued successfully with the powers at Tokio to bring about the present war between Russia and Japan. It is the Czar who stands between the war party and their desires, and prevents such a conflagration as the world has not seen in our time. I wish I could burn this into the brain of every Briton who loves his country and hopes for its welfare: 'If war comes, Russia will not stand alone.' A nation with a fine fleet and a terrible army, an army that is ready to the last button on the last shirt, will stand with her, fall with her, too, perhaps, for in the end we have always had a trick of holding our own; but think of the terrible sacrifice which must be made if things come to such a

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pass, all danger of which could easily be obviated now by the exercise of a little wise statecraft, or, better still, a little national common sense."

After that, the writer, whose imagination is on a par with, or rather exceeds even, his graphic qualities of style, fully explains that it is Germany who would, in the case mentioned, come to the rescue of Russia! He then strenuously pleads for a brotherly feeling between the Englishman and the Muscovite. He says he has been through Siberia and heard of its richness in mineral ore "that made me green with envy." He "saw forests waiting for the woodman's axe, and plains waiting for the plough. If we could only get rid of the insane prejudice that parts the two peoples, what an opening is there for the British merchant and the British mechanic!"

"And after all," he continues, "who is it that gains by the prejudice that stands like a rampart between us and them (the Russians)? Only the favored classes of each people, not the bone and brain of either nation. What business has this generation of Britons to cherish hate of Russia; what cause have we to dislike them? The Russian worships the same God that we worship; he adores the same Christ. . . . Believe me, the Muscovite is worth cultivating as a friend; *he is worth dreading as a foe.*"

Thus, by alternately threatening England with a Russo-German alliance, and using words of fraternal cajolery, an endeavor is made to smooth matters for Muscovite autocracy, so far as England is concerned. But what right has any one to assert that it is only "the favored classes" in England who are opposed to the despotic system of government in the vast Empire of the Czar? Is not, on the contrary, the strongest feeling in that matter to be found among the truly Liberal, Radical and Democratic masses—even as was the case, to my full personal remembrance, in the days before and during the Crimean war? At that time, too, Liberals, Republicans and Socialists all over Europe, headed in England by exiled leaders like Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Kossuth, and by German and Polish exiles, myself among them, called out for the most efficient warfare against that arch-despot, Nicholas I., whose rule had weighed like an incubus on the Continent at large.

The Muscovite is worth cultivating as a friend, says Mr. Hales. But whom does he mean by the word "Muscovite?" There are tools of the autocrat's tyranny of really Russian origin, and there

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are such tools also among unscrupulous and corrupt men of different race. On the other hand, there are numbers of real Russians who aim, more or less hopefully, or with reckless self-sacrifice, at the introduction of representative institutions. Now, with which class of Muscovites should Englishmen suddenly swear eternal friendship?

Again, are there not ever so many down-trodden, non-Muscovite races in the Czar's Empire, who are rattling at the bars of the great prison-house? What about the Finns, the Poles, the Letts, the German urban populations of the Baltic provinces, the Armenians?—to mention but some of them. In the introductory words of a previous article in this REVIEW, I mentioned that the very first successes of the Japanese on sea were jubilantly celebrated, as far away as the United States, by Polish emigrants. Since then, the Polish youth in Cracow have issued a declaration at a meeting, to this effect:

"Seeing that the most effective crippling of Russia is in the interest of Poland, and will facilitate the reconstruction of our fatherland, the Polish youth sympathize in the heartiest manner with the Japanese, and congratulate them upon the successes hitherto gained, whereby the power and the reputation of Russia have been greatly shaken. In view of the forthcoming mobilization in Russian Poland, we hold it to be the correct way of acting for Polish soldiers and reservists not to desert before the mobilization, but to do so later on, on the theatre of war, as this would be the best means of damaging the Czar's army, both numerically and morally."

Now, are Englishmen to give up their sympathies with the cause of the Polish and other nationalities, for the sake of currying favor with the Bobrikoff-Plehve system of government, which is to be continued in spite of the awful warnings recently addressed to a relentless autocracy?

In Finland, Prince Obolenski has been appointed, and he is noted for his atrocious acts against a dissatisfied peasantry. He is a kind of Muscovite Haynau. In Russia proper, the same inhuman harshness of rule goes on. It is upheld—as a Russian high official in the "Quarterly Review" has stated—by Nicholas II., who seems to be a self-willed and yet easily influenced monarch, combining, as is not seldom the case, the characteristics of a weakling with those of a pretender to personal domination in the "*L'Etat c'est moi*" style. He once said to a deputation that his

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ambition was to follow in the footsteps of Nicholas I. What worse prospect could he have held out to his subjects?

Mr. Hales does not appear to have reflected upon all this. Having been talked over in Russia, he trots out a bogey to Englishmen of a coming Russo-German alliance, by which evidently they are to be hypnotized into friendliness with the "Muscovite." But Germany does not mean to shed her blood for the sake of the "beautiful eyes" of Nicholas II. In whatever personal utterances the German Emperor may indulge, his Government will maintain an attitude of neutrality. It will not dream of throwing the German nation in arms into this war at the side of that Russian tyranny the doings of which have been exposed at the recent State Trial at Königsberg, in such a manner as to give rise to an outcry of indignation even among journals which are in contact with semi-official sources at Berlin.

To give an idea of the Australian writer's odd means of impressing his readers, I may quote from a concluding paragraph of his, in which he says that Russia is only now making her preparations for war. He says:

"Try and picture such a scene as this, and it is a scene I have looked at so often that I grew sick of gazing. A train running at fourteen miles an hour. . . . What do you see? A vast stretch of fast-ripening rye, the stuff out of which the Russian soldier's bread is made. . . . Far as the eye can reach, you will see rye, nothing but rye. It is almost under your nose, and it reaches to the bounds of your horizon. Now, leave your window and cross over, and look out of the other side. And what do you see? Rye, nothing but rye. . . . The train is like a giant worm crawling in a prairie. You are in the midst of *the Russian army's preparations for the war.* That, for Russia, at least, has only just commenced. You cannot realize it, my friend. You have been used to hearing of grain talked about by the paltry million bushels, perhaps. When it comes to square miles that make you giddy in the counting, you turn away and marvel. Well, so do I, and so will a lot of other folk before we are three years older."

It is pertinent to ask: "Did not these enormous rye-fields exist before the war?"

II.

From this terrifying description of the boundless corn-fields, let us turn to another picture.

At the Königsberg State Trial, which practically ended in the disgrace of the disclosure of the attempted subserviency to the

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Czar, a witness was called by the defence, whose revelations as to the condition of Russia made the deepest impression abroad. This was Professor von Reussner, a Russian subject, a member of the Orthodox Church, who for five years had been a Professor of Public Law and Criminal Jurisprudence at Tomsk. He resigned after the late student disturbances in that university-town, when several undergraduates were beaten and flogged by the police. For it is always "flogging, nothing but flogging" in Russia, to use the style of the Australian writer—even for political malcontents and prisoners. The very Senate of Tomsk sent a protest to the Minister of Public Instruction, but in vain. It was then that Professor von Reussner handed in his resignation.

In his long cross-examination, the full report of which is before me, and which extends over many columns, he said:

"The influence of the Czar has certain limits. The power of the officials is unlimited. There is no criminal responsibility for them, unless the higher authorities give permission for a prosecution. Even then, the Court for judging an official is mainly composed of officials of the Administration itself. There exists in Russia no right of religious creed. It is forbidden to secede from the Orthodox Church. Even the change from one sect to another is only allowed by special permission of the Home Secretary. A conversion to one of the German Protestant sects entails the loss of all rights and transportation to Siberia. To leave the Græco-Catholic Church entails also the loss of the right to educate one's children. The clerical authorities can imprison any suspect for life in a cloister; for, by the side of the administrative procedure of transportation, there is a similar privilege of the Church to exile people to Siberia."

In regard to the press, Professor Reussner stated that the Home Secretary can at any time prohibit the sale of a paper, or forbid it to discuss certain questions. Various Ministers and the Procurator of the Holy Synod can suppress a journal at any moment. There is a Church censorship, a Military censorship, a censorship for Public Libraries, and a special censorship for Popular Libraries. Any meeting whatsoever can be prohibited by the police. Even judicial sentences can be altered by administrative action. Thus, one sentenced to transportation to Siberia may be imprisoned for life in the dread dungeon of Schlüsselburg.

During the recent riots which arose out of political discontent, floggings took place on a large scale. It was at first believed, the Russian expert witness said, that this was an exceptionally arbitrary measure; but it was found afterwards that it was based on a

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secret ordinance of Alexander III. Those condemned for political offences, men and women, have often been flogged. Hunger strikes, on the part of such prisoners, frequently occurred by way of protest. Students have, as a punishment, been put into the army for life, irrespective of their being sick or cripples. Emigration without permission entails confiscation of property.

A right of petition Professor Reussner further explained does not exist in Russia. The change in the Constitution of Finland, without the assent of the Diet, was a State-stroke, an open violation of the Constitution by the Czar. The documents published by R. Leonoff, as well as more recent publications of a similar kind, in which the complicity of the "Asiatic Department" of Russia with bomb outrages in Bulgaria, and with the terrible tragedy at Belgrade, is fully evidenced, have the usual official form.

"When two students," the Russian witness said in conclusion, "had been flogged by the police at Tomsk, I went to Petersburg, but could not obtain justice from the Minister. The judicial inquiry was conducted by the Commander of the Gendarmerie, Wahl. Thereupon I resigned my position."

Wahl, one of the cruellest men, has taken a malicious pleasure in sneering at political prisoners placed before him, by saying that he had "something very special for their benefit"—meaning, as it turned out, their subjection to the knout.

III.

Can it be wondered at, in such a state of affairs, that the "mild justice" of revenge should have its course among the victims of so unbearable a tyranny? Perfectly trustworthy news, both from Helsingfors and from Petersburg—some of which has come to me privately—fully bears out the significant fact that the deeds done against Bobrikoff and Plehve correspond to the national, patriotic feeling of the Finns, and to the rising indignation of the cultured classes in Russia, in an unexpectedly strong manner.

I have before me a letter, signed "G. Georgi (St. Petersburg)," in which the writer says:

"There exists an indescribable fermentation. Schaumann has become the hero of the Finnish people. *He is recognized as its William Tell.* In all circles, even where political assassination is, on principle, strictly condemned, men speak with satisfaction of this deed, and mention Schaumann with deep respect. He is looked upon as the avenger of so

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much wrong and suffering brought by Bobrikoff over Finland. Even though Bobrikoff was not directly held responsible for the prevailing 'policy of the knout,' he was hated as the ready tool of Plehve and Pobiedonostseff. He was loathed as the destroyer of the happiness of hundreds of families, as the organizer of treachery and falsehood by a system of espionage, which has sadly undermined social intercourse—once so pleasant, and rightly famed in Finland for its hospitality and its noble freedom. He had driven out from office the incorruptible officials of the country, and replaced them by mean self-seekers. The Police Administration had been filled by him with individuals of the shadiest kind, who had lost positions elsewhere. In the Postal Administration a 'Black Cabinet' had been established by him. These are some of the traits of the new Russified Finland. And because Bobrikoff had set aside all regard for morality, for law, and for public faith, therefore the Czar, forsooth, assisted in carrying his coffin on his own shoulders!"

This is surely a strong description from the pen of a man who, writing from the Russian capital, even risks giving his name, though at any moment he might be haled as a prisoner to the fortress of Schlüsselburg, or as an exile to Siberia. Those who have had experience of the time shortly before the outbreak of some revolution will understand the significance of such boldness. There are then generally a few men who thus act as brave and often self-sacrificing forerunners of a coming popular upheaval.

So much for public feeling in Finland. Again, the killing of Plehve is now spoken of at Petersburg, among the so-called "Intelligence"—that is, the educated class which holds Liberal principles—in terms of that peculiar kind in which there is a curious combination, much relished among cultured Russians, of strong political sentiment and of humorously ironical expressions. A man like the one who took the life of Plehve is called "a highly respectable assassin," a "most laudable murderer," and so forth. It is stated that "such words are now to be heard all over Petersburg in good society."

Among the lowest class, it is true, in which crass ignorance and bigotry prevail, the tone may be different; but there can be no doubt as to the tendency among all the better educated. Their ardent wish is to see representative institutions at last introduced. With an angry indignation that knows no bounds, they point to the fact of the so-called despicable yellow race in Japan enjoying a Constitution, whilst they themselves are the enslaved subjects of an Autocrat who cultivates the most antiquated superstitions, and of his tools, who, on their part, flatter his ambi-

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tion and his prejudices, and mislead him often by false representations.

The dissatisfaction of the cultured and liberal-minded classes may be measured from several recent articles of Prince Meschtscherski in the "Grashdanin." That gentleman is by no means in favor of the introduction of a Parliament. He is, on the contrary, of quite a conservative, not to say reactionist type, as he might be described in other countries. He is an upholder of the power of the Czar and looked upon as a friend at Court.

He writes that, at the assassination of Plehve, he was "surprised by the equanimity with which society received the news of the event. "Equanimity" is a mild word for what is known to be the real attitude of society at Petersburg. "It made," he says, "the impression of enervation or of demoralization." By that latter word he means the virtual sympathy with the deed of the man who killed Plehve. However, Prince Meschtscherski would fain not believe that such was the case; but he adds: "At the moment that violent deed was done, there was a paralyzing feeling, created by the anxious question: 'What will come now?' I myself was thus affected."

He describes himself as a Conservative. But he condemns the daily conflicts between Government and the elements of dissatisfaction, the treatment of the "Zemstvos" (provincial Diets), and the action of the police—which he looks upon as being contrary to the Imperial promises made in the Czar's Manifesto of February 26, 1903. That manifesto spoke of an "approachment of the People to the Throne." He mentions his own repeated conversations with Plehve, in which, whilst objecting himself to the introduction of a Parliament, he (Prince Meschtscherski) pleaded for decentralization and local self-government. Plehve would not hear of even that. "So the omnipotence of the Imperial Administration," Meschtscherski writes, "was fully established, and all social forces were subjected to Plehve *as to a despot.*"

This was written, after the life of the despot had been taken, by a conservative member of the high aristocracy. He has also to say something about the necessity of showing tolerance to adherents of religious sects and better treatment of non-Muscovite nationalities. By oppressing them, he asserts, they are driven into forming a united mass of enemies to Russian nationality. From such combination Russian nationality, the Prince says, suffers

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even in an economic sense; for instance—as he alleges—in the Caucasus, and in what he, too, calls, in the usual official language, the "Western Territory," meaning Poland.

It is easy to imagine the views and the sentiments of the really Liberal class when a man like Prince Meschtscherski feels compelled to speak out in this way.

Here it may be useful to correct the frequently expressed erroneous idea that Russian revolutionists are simply "Nihilists." There was once a small section of men whom utter despair had made to adopt an insane gospel of general destruction without plan or purpose of the establishment of a new, better ordered state of society. But among the elements of dissatisfaction in Russia, Nihilism is utterly exploded now. There are, among them, as elsewhere, moderate Liberals whose aims do not go further than the introduction of a Parliament as a means of gradual progress; Republicans of the type of Social Reformers; and Socialists proper. In the native groups of the latter there are two sections: those who think that, before all, terror has to be struck into Government by all kinds of means; and others who would rather forego using such measures, in which the bomb, the revolver, and the dagger play their part. It is always so, shortly before a coming revolution. France, Italy, Germany, England also in olden times, have had experience of the same.

As M. Plehve has been denounced as a despot by Prince Meschtscherski, an infernal plan has to be mentioned, proposed in a pamphlet which appeared under Russian censorship; that is, practically with the permission of the late Minister of the Interior. It bore the title, "China or We," and was distributed largely among the wealthier Russian peasants and among traders in the towns. It proposed the conquest of northern China by Russia, and the transportation of 20,000,000 of the people of northern China to Central Asia, where they were to be distributed as slaves among the agricultural and manufacturing class! Military settlements were to be established in northern China; and all Russian vagabonds, workless men, and politically dangerous persons were to be transported there.

On the face of it, these proposals may be held to be too absurd for discussion. The strange thing is, that the *imprimatur* should have been given to such a pamphlet. It looks like an attempt to attach certain classes of the people to the policy of Government.

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IV.

All history teaches that when things are nearly ripe for a revolutionary outbreak among a despotically oppressed nation, the ideas of tyrannicide get hold of the most moderate men, and, with the lessons of history before him, Nicholas II. had better reflect whether it is prudent to cling to the autocratic system at a time when even Japan enjoys representative government and "Young Turks" call for the re-convocation of an Ottoman Parliament, which had existed in 1877-78, and which was only "prorogued" by the Sultan under the pressure of Russian bayonets. Nicholas I. had to wade to the throne through blood. Nicholas II., by not yielding in time to the wishes of the enlightened classes, really draws upon himself an enormous personal responsibility.

Unfortunately, the man who professed to set up a Temple of Peace, and who at the same time ordered an increase of military and naval forces; who furthermore broke his oath to the Finns, and provoked a war in the Far East, appears to be past teaching. He obstinately continues the old system, which is one of corruption at home, and now also of inefficiency in war. Whilst his regular navy is crippled, he audaciously allows his so-called Volunteer Fleet—practically a piratical force—to insult the strongest naval power of the world by capturing and sinking commercial vessels of that nation, as well as of others. It is a strange presumption upon the longanimity of neutrals. In former days, such pirates would have at once been sought out by the insulted Power, been captured or sunk, and their captains, according to maritime law, strung up at the masthead without further ado.

Everything that could be done to wear out the patience of, or unpleasantly to startle, his own subjects, Nicholas II. foolishly does even in minor matters. "What is the meaning," people ask, "of his giving the name of Alexis to his new-born boy?"

Alexis was the name of the son whom Peter I. killed! Alexis was also the name of that loose-living Czar, under whom the Russian nation was deprived of the last few constitutional rights which had been gained at the election of the first ruler of the House of Romanoff. In those olden days, the formula for newly enacted laws was: "The Czar has ordered, and the boyars [noblemen, forming a kind of Chamber] have given their assent." Later on, under Alexis, even this slight constitutional privilege was abolished.

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These are the Alexis names known in history, which Nicholas II. now revives for his presumptive heir. A curious predilection, indeed!

V.

The braggart utterances of the press under the Czar's influence are now a frequent theme of contemptuous remarks among the better educated Russians, though everything is done by Government not to let the truth be fully known as to the events in the Far East. Quite recently, shortly before the destruction of the "Rurik," one of those papers which support the aggressive policy of Government, boastfully wrote:

"We shall concentrate ourselves. We shall gather our forces on sea and on land, in order to measure ourselves with the enemy in a decisive battle. Our fleet is intact; and now, after six months, it is perhaps even more threatening for Japan and her navy, which, by its losses, and by its having had to remain, for half a year, in preparation for war, is very much weakened. Port Arthur is still in our hands, and the many sacrifices and persistent attempts of the Japanese to take it from us are, and will be, in vain. . . . The end will crown the work."

This is the kind of information one of the most frequently quoted Petersburg journals, the "Novoe Vremya," vouchsafes to its readers. However, slowly but surely, the real truth gradually penetrates even among the masses in Russia. They have been told that the reverses the army has suffered were the result of a clever Russian plan to draw the enemy into the interior, where he would be overwhelmed. But the most benighted peasant will, when Port Arthur falls, refuse to be convinced that this, too, was a part of so clever a scheme.

Meanwhile, discontent is on the increase all through Russia. The different races may have a difficulty in combining for action; but everywhere there are signs of growing opposition. Outside, also, there are some manifestations of no mean importance.

It may be remembered that, in the Norwegian struggle for greater independence from Sweden, Björnstjerne Björnson, the distinguished poet, had gone very far in approaching Russia. As he is a republican in principle, this created naturally much astonishment. It was a very unwise act of his. He thought—so he once wrote—that Russia was no danger to the Scandinavian countries, her whole bent lying towards conquest in the East. He forgot that Russia has always alternated between conquest in the

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Near and Far East and conquest in the North and West of Europe.

At last, however, the Norwegian poet has been taught the right view by what occurred in Finland. The Russification operated there was evidently to be used as a stepping-stone for a later aggression upon Scandinavia; and finally, I may add, as a means of obtaining an ice-free harbor in the Northern Sea, opposite the Scottish shore. A scheme for the acquisition of such a harbor—namely, Hammerfest—is traceable as far back as the time before the Crimean war; which I perfectly remember.

Were Nicholas II. in reality that which misguided flatterers have described him to be, on account of his peace-loving propositions at The Hague—propositions he himself utterly disregards!—he would have plenty of good work to do in his own dominions. There can be no doubt that the achievements of the Japanese are attributable to their remarkable advance in scientific accomplishments, besides their personal bravery, as well as to the high standard of intellectual culture among the people at large. Japan has a population of only 45,000,000; the Russian Empire more than 140,000,000. But in Japan 4,302,623 children attend school; in the vast dominions of the Czar only 4,193,594. It need not be said that the difference is still greater as regards the higher educational establishments in Japan, as compared with Russia.

What a field for bettering the state of popular instruction in the Empire of the young man who posed as a friend of peace and progress! But as a matter of fact, the rule of brute force goes on under him with unabated cruelty.

Not a few educated Russians, therefore, incline to the idea that it would be a good thing for their nation if the armed forces of Autocracy were thoroughly beaten. The defeat of Nicholas I. in the Crimean war brought to Russia at least some degree of relaxation from his iron rule in matters of the public press and of the provincial Assemblies. Finally, too, the serfdom of the peasantry had to be abolished in consequence of that war.

At the recent International Congress in Amsterdam, the strongest imaginable demonstration was made by a Russian representative. Among the delegates present there was a Japanese, Katajama: of Russians there appeared Plechanoff, who has incisively written against the Anarchist theory, which is often erroneously mixed up with the Socialist doctrine; Leo Deutsch, who recently

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was in great danger of being unjustly delivered over to the Russian authorities, but was saved in the nick of time; and Vera Sassulitsch. She is well known for having made an attempt, in the eighties, upon the life of a Chief of the Police, who had had political prisoners, among them one of her own intimate acquaintance, brutally flogged and otherwise subjected to great cruelties. Juries being in existence at that time for such cases—they have since been abolished—Vera Sassulitsch was, to the horror of government, declared "not guilty," and managed, with the help of friends, to escape across the frontier of the Russian Empire.

When Katajama, the Japanese, and Plechanoff, the Russian, shook hands at the Congress, there was tremendous applause. After a speech of the former, Plechanoff followed; both having previously been elected Vice-Presidents. In a long and passionate speech, Plechanoff maintained that "the Russian people had had nothing to do with conjuring up this nefarious war, but that the hostile conflict had been provoked by the mortal enemy of the Russian people—namely, by the despotic Czar. If the Government of Petersburg were to be victorious, it would not be Japan, but the Russian people, which would really be the vanquished."

The speaker continued by saying that the autocratic Czars, by their acts of oppression, had enslaved a mass of nations all around the boundaries of the Empire, thereby earning universal hatred. These nations were sorely suffering from the same chains which bound the Russian people. Hence Russian freedom had a thorough feeling of solidarity with those down-trodden races. What had been done in Finland was, Plechanoff said, on a par with what had long been done in Russia. "Now, however," he declared, "the time has come at last for the end of the Czar's tyranny. Blow after blow, defeat after defeat, administered to his forces in this war, evoke in Russia no sympathy with Government. That sorely driven Autocracy is a Colossus with feet of clay, and Japan is fortunately on the point of smashing one of these feet. The other will have to be crushed at home." In conclusion, Plechanoff spoke with indignation against France, who "had become the strongest support of the Czar's despotism, by paying with her gold the Executioner of All the Russias."

There was the liveliest applause for these bitter and incisive remarks. Let Nicholas II. reflect upon them.

KARL BLIND.

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CONDITIONS IN THE CONGO FREE STATE.

BY BARON MONCHEUR, ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM BELGIUM TO THE UNITED STATES.

SOME thirty years ago, the world knew nothing about the Congo and cared even less; but, since that time, much has happened in Central Africa. Stanley has explored the country, and the Belgians, led by King Leopold, have developed it. Thirty years ago, the Congo was given over to barbarism, cannibalism, intertribal wars and the horrors of the Arab slave raids, in which 100,000 victims were killed or captured every year. To-day it is a flourishing kingdom, governed by an enlightened ruler, who has not only developed the country commercially, but who has absolutely destroyed the slave raids, who has introduced Christianity and civilization, and who has put forth every effort to improve the condition of the natives and to fulfil the motto of the State, which is "Work and Progress."

The most impartial commentary on the administration of the Congo is to be found in a comparison of the condition of the country to-day with the state of affairs existing there a quarter of a century ago. The work must be judged by its results. The tree must be known by its fruit.

This tree which has flourished so excellently in Africa, and which has brought forth such good fruit both in a commercial and in a humanitarian sense, was planted by King Leopold. Even before he came to the throne of Belgium, he realized that his densely crowded country must find an outlet for its energies in lands beyond the seas, and his keen perception singled out Central Africa as a field in which his countrymen could develop their commerce, and at the same time carry civilization to a benighted people.

"I will pierce the darkness of barbarism," he declared in the

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Belgian Senate; "I will secure to Central Africa the blessing of a civilized government; and I will, if necessary, undertake this giant work alone." In pursuance of this object, he called an international geographical conference, in 1876, to consider the best means to open up "the only portion of the globe where civilization has not yet penetrated, and to plant definitively the standard of civilization on the soil of Central Africa."

All the world was invited to join in this nineteenth-century crusade, for, as His Majesty said, "we in no way claim a monopoly of the good which can and ought to be done in Africa."

National committees were formed in many countries, including the United States, but only three of these organizations succeeded in accomplishing any permanent result. The German committee sent out exploring expeditions, which ultimately led to the occupation of German East Africa, and France undertook explorations in what is now the French Congo; but it was the Belgian committee which displayed the greatest energy and perseverance.

King Leopold took the matter in hand and, by his energy and his financial aid, supported and carried on the work, which was generally considered a humane, but quixotic, enterprise. "It was thought that the undertaking was beyond his power," as Sir Edward Malet said at the Berlin Conference, and that it was "too great for success."

At first, the Belgian exploring expeditions accomplished little; but in 1879 Stanley was sent out by King Leopold, and from that time the work made rapid progress. In five years, forty government stations had been established, steamers had been placed on the Congo River above the cataracts, hundreds of tribes had been visited, five hundred treaties had been made with the native chiefs, and the country had been occupied from the coast to Stanley Falls.

The Belgian committee, led by the King, had succeeded in founding an African Empire. It was not a colony of Belgium, but a separate state, governed by the International African Association, of which King Leopold was President. In 1884, the flag of the new nation was recognized by some of the great Powers as the flag of a friendly state, the United States being the first thus to greet the blue and gold ensign of the new African Power. The Powers did not create the Congo State; they simply recognized a condition of affairs already existing, viz.: that the Congo was a properly qualified, duly constituted and efficient government.

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The "Scramble for Africa" had already begun, and the relations of the different governments concerned in the centre of the continent were becoming an intensely interesting problem. Towards the end of 1884, the Powers held a Conference at Berlin "to regulate the conditions most favorable to the development of trade and civilization in certain regions of Africa, and to assure to all nations the advantages of free navigation" of the Congo and the Niger. It has been sometimes erroneously said that the Berlin Conference created the Congo Free State and placed it under the control of King Leopold, retaining a right to supervise his work and to demand an account of his stewardship. This is a misapprehension. The Congo, as mentioned above, was already a sovereign state, and had taken her place in the family of nations months before the meeting of the Berlin Conference. The object of the conference was not to create the Congo State (which would be to do a thing already done), but to define the interests of the Powers (including the Congo) in the Congo basin, to make provision for "the open-door policy," and to secure cooperation for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The Plenipotentiaries at the Conference expressed high admiration for the noble ideals of the founder of the Congo State, for the great work already accomplished and for the perseverance of the King, who, as the Italian representative said, "for eight years, with a rare constancy, has spared neither trouble nor personal sacrifice for the success of a generous and philanthropic enterprise." "Throughout a long course of years," said Sir Edward Malet, the British representative, "the King, moved by purely philanthropic ideas, has spared neither personal effort nor pecuniary sacrifice in anything which could contribute to the attainment of his object. Still, the world generally viewed these efforts with an eye almost of indifference. Here and there His Majesty aroused sympathy, but it was in some degree rather a sympathy of condolence than encouragement."

The duty of suppressing the slave-trade was to devolve chiefly upon the Congo State, which occupies the centre of the continent. The new nation willingly undertook this tremendous task, and, as "Chinese" Gordon said, "no such efficacious means of striking at the root of the slave-trade was ever presented as that which God has, I trust, opened out to us through the kind disinterestedness of His Majesty, King Leopold."

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The means were, indeed, efficacious; and, to use the words of Lord Curzon, "the Congo State has done a great work and, by its administration, the cruel raids of Arab slave-dealers have ceased to exist over many thousand square miles." The slave raids were abolished, but it was only after long years of warfare and at a great expense of Belgian blood. The struggle against the Arab slave-traders put such a strain upon the slender resources of the State that, at the Brussels Conference in 1890, the Powers modified their tariff agreement, so that the Congo Government might increase its revenue for the purpose of carrying on the good work. The eradication of the slave raids was, however, but one of the Herculean tasks accomplished by the Congo Government.

What was before a wilderness has now been made a garden. The districts formerly devastated by the Arab slave-raiders are now inhabited by natives who live in security and peace. Cannibalism and human sacrifice are rapidly disappearing. The country has been opened up to Christianity, commerce and civilization. About five hundred kilomètres of railway have been built and three times that amount are under construction, 15,000 kilomètres of waterway have been explored and are plied by steamers. The telephone and telegraph lines extend over 1,500 kilomètres, roads have been constructed and automobile wagons placed on them for traffic. The whole country is being developed by means of Government stations.

At the time of the Berlin Conference (1884-5) there were forty stations; to-day there are more than two hundred. Then there were five river steamers in Congo waters; to-day the government has a fleet of one hundred. Then there was one court of justice; now, including the courts-martial, there are nearly fifty. Then there were a dozen missionaries; to-day there are about five hundred missionaries, and one hundred and fifty mission stations. In 1887 the exports amounted to $400,000; at the present time they have risen to $10,000,000.

Rubber is the chief product of the country. A few years ago, the export of rubber was a negligible quantity, but now it has gained such proportions that the price of Congo rubber regulates the rubber market of the world. The cultivation of coffee, cocoa and cotton has been encouraged also. Whereas eight years ago there were only sixty thousand coffee-trees in the plantations, now there are about two million and the growth of cotton has been so

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flourishing as to cause some disquietude among the cotton-growers of Egypt.

All this moral and material development of Central Africa has been accomplished in a remarkably short time, and is one of the wonders of the world. At the beginning of the enterprise, the nations applauded King Leopold's humanitarian designs, but did not lend a helping hand. They could see the philanthropy of putting down the slave-trade, but they could not see any material or financial benefit to be derived from the operation, and, hence, generally, they stood aloof. The Belgians, inspired by the confidence of the King, were finally induced to undertake the development of Central Africa, but the capitalists and merchants of other countries did not look upon the Congo as a paying proposition. For example, the agent of one foreign government reported that "nothing could be done without a railroad, and that there was not enough traffic to support a road." The facts proved otherwise. Congo Railway shares which in 1893 could be had at 325 rose five years later to nearly 1200. In the same way, other commercial projects which had been undertaken by the Belgians turned out to be enormously productive.

In the early days of the Congo, foreign capital was much needed and would have been gladly welcomed. Foreign capitalists were not, however, "bullish" on Congo speculations: like the man with one talent, they feared to risk their money and hid it in the earth, while the more adventurous Belgians invested in Congo enterprises and have received their own with interest. Hence it is that the Belgians are now reaping the larger part of the profits from the Congo. Foreign financiers failed to grasp their opportunity, and the Belgians have gone in, occupied the field, acquired valuable concessions and remunerative trade. The foreigners who arrive now, at the eleventh hour, find the best seats at the feast already occupied.

The door is not shut, however. The Congo State maintains the "open-door policy" for trade, in accordance with the Berlin Act, and all foreigners may freely enter and buy and sell and get gain. A few foreigners have, however, claimed a wider privilege than this, and have wished to go in and occupy Government land without permission of the State.

It is a well-known principle of law, recognized in America and England and in nearly every country, that all unoccupied or

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ownerless land belongs to the State. When the Congo Government took possession of the territory in Central Africa, it allowed all actual owners and occupiers of the soil, both native and non-native, to register their lands and to become legal owners. All vested interests were scrupulously respected, and unoccupied or masterless land was declared Government property, in accordance with recognized legal usage and in accordance with the practice of nations. These lands contain, among other things, valuable rubber forests, which the Government either manages on its own account, or sells or lets out on suitable terms to private concerns. Concessions are granted in a similar way in the British possessions in Africa.

As Belgians have been chiefly interested in the development of the Congo, it is natural that most of these concessions and leases have been obtained by Belgian companies. It has been claimed that these leases or concessions constitute a monopoly, and that they are an infraction of Article V. of the Berlin Act. The stipulation in question provides that: "No Power which exercises, or shall exercise, sovereign rights in the above-named regions shall be allowed to grant therein a monopoly or favor of any kind in matters of trade."

Fortunately, the Berlin Conference asked two of its members, Baron de Courcel and Baron Lambermont, to make a report on the meaning of the stipulation, and their interpretation of the article sets forth the exact meaning as understood by the High Contracting Powers.

"What is the meaning of this stipulation?" says the report submitted to the Conference by MM. de Courcel and Lambermont. "Demands have been made for enlightenment on the subject. There should be no doubt about the strict and literal meaning which should be assigned to the term in "commercial matters" *(en matière commerciale)*. It relates exclusively to traffic, to the unlimited faculty of every one to sell or to buy, to import and to export, both products and manufactured articles. No privileged situation should be created in this respect. The field remains open to free competition in the domain of commerce, but the obligation of local Governments does not go beyond this."

It is evident from this official and authoritative interpretation that the contracting Powers had in mind the idea that there should be no differential treatment of merchants, but that they

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should all be allowed to buy and sell on a fair footing. This agreement has been scrupulously fulfilled by the Congo State. There is nothing in the stipulation forbidding the Government to exercise its legal and customary right of leasing land, or granting to individuals or to companies certain tracts of territory for development. The Government has an undoubted right to sell its lands, or to rent them out, or to work them itself; and the purchasers or lessees holding these concessions of land have undoubtedly a right to the product of their respective tracts.

There is nothing in this contrary to liberty of commerce or free competition. There is nothing in it antagonistic to the letter or the spirit of Article V. It is a simple exercise of property rights. A farmer in America taking an orchard on lease would expect to have a right to the exclusive use of the fruit; and, if he objected to strangers entering and gathering his crop of apples, he would hardly be called a "monopolist" on that account. The granting of these leases and concessions is sanctioned by law and by the custom of nations. It does not constitute a monopoly as understood in law or as defined at the Berlin Conference.

One of the most civilizing and useful regulations introduced by the Government of the Congo is the law requiring the natives to pay a tax in labor. This tax is not excessive. It is estimated at forty hours per month, and for this work the native is paid at the usual rate of wages. Most strict orders have been issued with a view to securing the equitable division of the labor, the prevention of arbitrary exactions and a proper remuneration for the work done.

The State gives protection and the blessings of civilization to the natives, who constitute nearly the whole of the population, and who should bear some of the burden of the Government. Labor is the commodity in which it is most convenient for the natives to pay, and it is the commodity most needed by the State. The tax in labor is a distinctly civilizing influence. It teaches the native habits of industry, and it is by habits of industry only that he can be raised to a higher plane of civilization. In paying this tax, the native receives two rewards—an immediate reward in wages and an ultimate reward in being taught to work. Africa inhabited by idle natives is hopeless, but Africa inhabited by an industrious population is full of magnificent possibilities.

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In order to secure the collection of this tax, it is necessary to treat the natives with paternal kindness. It is not by cruel treatment, nor by maiming them, nor by driving them into the bush that the State can obtain the manual labor which it needs. The native is one of the elements necessary for the development of the country, and the Government is too far-seeing, as well as too humane, to allow the destruction of the blacks, by whose hands alone the country can be developed. Mistreatment of the natives is not in accordance with commercial principles, much less with humanitarian ideas. To permit such a thing would be both a crime and a commercial mistake.

As officials and commercial agents are not recruited exclusively from the ranks of the archangels, cases of cruelty to natives will occasionally occur in all attempts to govern inferior races. In the Congo, such crimes are now rare and are severely punished. Not very long ago, some agents of a certain Congo company were guilty of cruelty, for which they were promptly tried and condemned; and it was observed that, immediately after these cruel acts, the profits of the concern fell off 98 per cent., which shows that maltreatment of natives and huge profits cannot go hand in hand. The very prosperity of the State is an indication that the natives are not treated harshly.

The State has sought to throw every safeguard round the blacks by means of the courts of justice, and also by means of a special Commission for the Protection of Natives, which is composed of Catholic and Protestant missionaries.

The Congo Free State has always considered the help of the missionaries as "indispensable to the realization of its views"; and it should be observed that the large majority of missionaries speak very highly of the good work the Government has done for the uplifting of the native and for civilization and Christianity.

Mgr. van Ronslé, one of the best known missionaries in the Congo, who was the first President of the Commission for the Protection of Natives, has written a very interesting letter from Leopoldville under date of July 28, 1903, as follows:

"The State condemns the abuses which come to its knowledge. The law is well organized, extends like a network over all the State territory, and is carried out in some degree independently of the administration. I have known a great many of the magistrates—very honorable men, who had their responsibilities very much at heart, performing

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their duty in an independent and conscientious manner. How, then, is it possible to affirm that atrocities are erected into a system patronized by the State?

"I make it my duty in the present circumstances to pay the Government a tribute of admiration and gratitude — of admiration, in presence of the vast and fine organization that it has succeeded in establishing here after such a few years, and which astonishes even those who wish to injure it; of gratitude, for the benevolent protection and efficacious support which it has given to our missions."

Protestant missionaries, like Mr. W. H. Bentley, and the Rev. Dr. Grenfell who has been in the Congo for twenty-five years, have written of the administration in the highest terms of praise. Out of five hundred missionaries, it is only a handful who have expressed an unfavorable view of the Government.

An illustration of the reckless way in which stories of "atrocities" have been manufactured is furnished by the Burrows Case, which came up for trial in London last March. Mr. Burrows had written a book, which came out more than a year ago under the title "The Curse of Central Africa," and which contained many sensational accusations against the Government of the Congo and against the Belgian officers in its service. It was a book which was accepted by many as true history, and was quoted far and wide. One of the Belgian officers concerned, Captain de Keyser, brought suit against Mr. Burrows in the English courts; and, when the case came up, the whole fabric of calumny crumbled away. Neither the author nor the publishers produced a single witness or piece of evidence in support of their accusations, nor did they themselves go into the witness-box to explain or to attempt to justify their conduct. Captain de Keyser won the suit, with £500 damages, and the book was ordered suppressed.

One of the most interesting points about the case was the testimony tending to show that the book had been written, "not necessarily for publication," and that the publishers and author had tried to induce the Congo Government to buy up the manuscript for the purpose of suppressing it. There was produced in court an agreement signed by Mr. Burrows which reads as follows:

"I hereby agree to pay to Mr. John George Leigh the sum of £500 if and when my publishers, R. A. Everett & Co., receive the amount which may be paid by the Belgian Government for the non-publication of the manuscript by myself and him entitled 'The Curse of Central Africa.'

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In case the book is published, I agree to pay Mr. Leigh one-third of the profits."

In addition to such attacks, a number of false reports about the administration of the Congo have been put in circulation by well-meaning people who have accepted the idle tales of the natives without investigation. The testimony of the natives is utterly untrustworthy. As a rule, they will say anything that suits their interest or their caprice. Not long ago, a number of them accused a certain Protestant missionary of murdering the engineer of the mission launch, and they maintained their accusation with great unanimity and persistency, although there was not the slightest foundation for the story. Disregard for the truth seems to be characteristic of the natives, not only in the Congo, but all over Central Africa. Mr. H. L. Duff of the British Central-African Administration, in his recent book, has called attention to this same unfortunate habit among the natives of Nyassaland.

Calumnies against the Congo have received wide circulation, but in the end truth will prevail. A great work has been done in Central Africa for humanity, for Christianity and for civilization. It is the master mind of the King that has planned the work, and it is his generosity which has made it possible. Not only did he support the enterprise in its early struggle for existence, but even now, when the budgets of the State have reached a more satisfactory condition, the King generously declines to accept the revenues from the Crown lands (which, in ordinary course, should go to the Sovereign), and has turned the money into a fund, managed by Trustees, for the improvement and development of the country.

"All men," said Stanley, referring to the Congo, "all men who sympathize with good and noble works—and this has been one of unparalleled munificence and grandeur of ideas—will unite in hoping that King Leopold, the Royal Founder of this unique humanitarian and political enterprise, whose wisdom rightly guided it and whose moral courage bravely sustained it, amid varying vicissitudes, to a happy and successful issue, will long live to behold his Free State expand and flourish to be a fruitful blessing to a region that was, until lately, as dark as its own deep, sunless forest shades."

BN. MONCHEUR.

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SANITY AND SAFETY IN RELATION TO PUBLIC OFFICE.

BY ALLAN M'LANE HAMILTON, M.D., ETC.

THE words "safe" and "sane" have been used so frequently of late in connection with the coming Presidential election, the possession of those qualities by the candidates for high office being even made an issue by many, that it is of interest to question the relation of mental integrity or the reverse to the action of public officials generally; and, in this connection, it may not be amiss to refer to the peculiarities of the mental organization that may play a part in the conduct of men who fill important trusts, and in whom is invested a certain amount of power, which, if used improperly, may be to the detriment of certain communities, as well as of the country at large.

It need hardly be said that a public officer should be a well-balanced and mentally healthy man, in whom no suspicion of pathological weakness exists; yet, unfortunately, the line between normal mentality and its opposite is so confused, irregular and ill-defined that it is impossible to apply an absolute standard of psychic integrity, and the popular idea of what constitutes stability and all-round fitness is often at fault. This is inevitable so long as men by mere force forge ahead of their fellows, who rarely take into account defects which are overshadowed by apparent conventional soundness. General capability is rare, and not always to be expected; and absolute perfection, after all, means mediocrity. It is variety that gives individualism; and, provided there be no abnormal one-sidedness, we may be most unequal in our mental make-up, and still be well balanced.

Most of us are so willing to be infected with the genius of others that, often without due exercise of judgment, we choose an ideal

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and worship him, until calm, sober second thought and experience convince us of his shortcomings or actual weakness. In monarchical governments, there is little escape from the burden of a line of hereditary weaklings; but, in republics, the limitation of official tenure sooner or later brings relief, even though we suffer temporarily for the hasty choice of the majority. Le Bon has made plain the contagious nature of example, and the complete upsetting, at times, of deliberate judgment under the stress of suggestion; of the infectious will of one person which has imposed upon others who are receptive and yielding; and of the disregard, as well, of all the restraints of common sense, so that a species of general hypnotism exists during a period of excitement. This sheeplike tendency of the crowd is only too well known to psychiatrists and sociologists. Almost from the beginning of history, we find that communities have been deranged to the limit of epidemic madness by the appearance and example of spurious Messiahs, political lunatics and other individuals who have applied the torch of delirious excitement and kindled the fire of turbulent fanaticism.

The analysis of every suddenly developed popular movement is likely to disclose some hysterical weakness, which is usually dependent upon an individual act of heroic proportions, or started by an appeal to the emotional side of the masses. Sometimes it has a religious tinge, and again it may be purely martial;* or, again, in times of general corruption, a valorous champion of the people may appear upon the scene. The long-suffering public will at these times impulsively flock to the standard of a self-satisfied leader, who may be some half-crazy reformer whose plans for relief and prediction of better things appeal more or less strongly. As a rule, his promises are empty, and the efforts cease when power has been actually placed in his hands, his subsequent career being

* It would seem to-day, especially, as if many ill-balanced officials were possessed by a spirit of personal exaltation, with an allied disposition to indulge in more or less harmful heroics. The *motif* is militarism of a hysterical kind, with a disposition, as far as possible, in time of trouble, to ignore the ordinary and long-established forms of available legal relief, which until now have been all-sufficient. This epidemic madness has even extended to Colorado, and Mr. Wellman's interview with a former "rough-rider" is suggestive of what is meant. This valorous gentleman, in response to an inquiry, is said to have replied: "Well, they started up that *habeas corpus* business, and I told 'em that wasn't any good—that what they needed was not *habeas corpus* but *post mortem*, etc."

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characterized by occasional picturesque, and usually impotent, attacks upon vice which lead to nothing. The claims of such an individual are vapid, and his methods are distasteful to the confiding and mistaken victims who have pinned their faith upon him and invested him, perhaps, with extraordinary prerogatives. He is as likely as not to be a member of a certain large class of the unbalanced, recognized by the alienist, which comprises the victims of *paranoia reformatoria*. Possessed of little or no stability of mind, or power of judgment, he makes startling and dramatic raids upon the wrong-doer, disregarding the law which should guide him; or, if invested with the dangerous power of distorting the criminal law, he puts out of sight the rights of the unfortunate and perhaps innocent, or through sheer incapacity allows the guilty to escape. Not content with the sober and well-established precepts and methods of his calling, he resorts to others that are both outrageous and sensational. In this connection, the writer recalls the conduct of an eccentric and insanely conceited judge of a criminal court, who, in an important case, proceeded to interrogate a witness who was called to the stand, but from whom the prosecuting attorney, or the prisoner's counsel, could extort nothing. After admonishing the witness to disregard all others in the court-room and to look him "fixedly in the eye," he proceeded to searchingly interrogate, despite the objections and astonishment of both lawyers. There was something familiar and distinctly uncanny in the form of questions asked and in the conduct of the inquisitor, which recalled to the writer the Bernheim method of hypnotizing. It subsequently appeared that the judge admitted to a legal friend that he had bought and studied a well-known book upon the subject of hypnotism, and that he "found great aid in the use of suggestion." Luckily, the power of such a man is limited by the higher courts, but he is in every way a psychopathic example of what I mean. The saddest instances of mental deterioration are those which develop after a long, honorable and eminently sane career. Many old New York lawyers can recall the sudden transformation of an originally excellent judge who became insane, and subsequently rivalled the famous Jeffries in the cruelty and severity of his sentences, and who was allowed, through feelings of sympathy and pity, to remain on the bench for a long time, until his condition became so obvious that he was sent to an asylum, where he died.

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In other lands, where the will of the people has so little to do with the choice of a ruler, we are furnished with numerous historical examples of the danger of hereditary mental defects. The lines of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern illustrate what is meant; and, though in both houses notable exceptions exist, there being immunes, like the first Emperor William, it is not difficult to find a distinct insane trace, which in times more remote found expression in cruelty, oppression and unmistakable insanity of other kinds, or, in recent times, by a mental degeneration which is strikingly exemplified in the present German sovereign. Though brilliant and vigorous in certain directions, as are many paranoiacs, his conduct is erratic and impetuous; and no one can possibly predict what form his latest explosion may take. Possessed of an idea of his own power and almost god-like supremacy, which more closely resembles that of the arbitrary rulers of less civilized ages, his delusional sense of greatness leads him to indulge in all sorts of eccentric and disorderly forms of the exercise of power. Though his attempts to regulate the art of Germany and to teach sculptors, artists, actors and musicians, and even ballet girls, are evidences of mild insane conceit, and do no great harm, his power for mischief is really dangerous when he becomes, as he does at times, the subject of a species of semi-religious exaltation. This was his condition when he addressed his troops previous to their departure for China, urging them "to kill." Again, his exaggerated sense of personal importance has led him to direct or bring about punishments for *lèse-majesté* which are not only extreme, but at times ridiculous. It has been said that the interfering criticism of this monarch is not due to an exaggerated estimate of his own capacity only, but to his own conception of his duty as an Emperor; and in this connection one of his critics has recently said: "It is a conception too apt to lead a man into an endeavor to set up a Napoleonic despotism over his subjects' feelings and tastes, and it is not surprising that the German artists, no less than the public, have resented such interference."

There are a number of degenerates whose mental weakness is of such nature that they are only regarded by their fellows as queer or odd, and who perform acts from time to time which are distinctly praiseworthy or even of apparent greatness, the really insane conduct in other directions being for that reason forgiven or overlooked. To this class of dysphrenics belong many indi-

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viduals who are largely in the public eye. Ridicule is the usual reward of the querulous, litigating, reforming or extreme genius whose public career is marked by absurd acts so constantly exhibited as to make him a public bore. The soldier of a day struts about covered with decorations procured by misrepresentation, and indulges in the form of insane boasting known as "*pseudologia fantastica.*" The lawyer brings questionable lawsuits for the benefit of a public who do not need his help, or constantly figures in the newspapers, and the reformer of a certain character is always ready to interfere with the affairs and comfort of his fellows, provided he can get sufficient *kudos,* or even for the mere pleasure derived from meddling.

The morbid personality varies greatly in different individuals, and it does not follow that there is always moral degeneration. The motives of many of these unstable persons, to whom the name "mattoid" has been applied, have often been of the highest and best, and characterized by a distinct altruism. Indeed, this disregard of self has materially aided progress under certain circumstances. Unfortunately, the impulse of the psychopathic subject to do good, to relieve the down-trodden, or to correct evil, is not connected with a state of mind which enables him to properly recognize the consequences of a precipitate or tactless use of power. Such a person may be altruistic; but, as a rule, he unconsciously, in a measure, acts for the gratification of an insane vanity, or in obedience to an elation approaching morbidity. These men, and others, delight in personal decoration, in being photographed upon every occasion, and in oratorical efforts which are windy and empty, except that they sometimes leave in the mind of the auditor a catchy epigram or euphonious saying to be remembered. In all the strong qualities of mind they are deficient, and their mental processes and results are scattering and valueless. In reality, there is no balance, and, as in hysteria, there is often a morbid excitability of the memory, leading them to falsify unconsciously, or to live over in detail perfectly imaginary incidents, so that the individual believes himself a hero. With this exists what is known as the "facilitated release of volitional impulse" which is so characteristic of childhood. This unstable state is characterized by hyper-suggestibility, so that he responds very readily to all accidental influences. The emotional tinge leads such people to "mould" experience into conformity with them-

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selves, and with this there is a morbid excitability of the imagination. There is usually an inadequate functioning of the judgment and reason, and a tendency to live ever in a fool's paradise.

Deffendorf, in speaking of the mental characteristics of the large class of unbalanced individuals who are not conspicuously insane, says:

"But, just as soon as anything extraordinary occurs, a mental shock or a temptation which demands discussion and decision of action, the mental and moral incapacity becomes evident. There is this item of susceptibility to new and accidental influences, which renders their view of the outside world incomplete and fragmentary. Such vague pictures lead to faulty conception, and form a basis for inaccurate judgment. As soon as ideation leaves the purely sensory field, the logical train of thought yields to the influence of lively imagination, while the sharp definition characteristic of general ideas disappears. Circumstances existing only in their imagination are of far more importance in their deliberation than actual facts. Thought, therefore, becomes unsteady, and shows many inconsistencies; patients vacillate in their plans from day to day, draw inconsistent conclusions from the same premises, and thus their views of life and the world lack reality. Their flighty conversation contains frequent repetition of certain high-sounding remarks and commonplaces, which often have little bearing on the case."

The popular standard of official sanity, rectitude, greatness, goodness and general capability, associated with calm dignity and temperamental stability, is undoubtedly that which has been fixed by most of our countrymen, who have been brought up to revere the memory of the first President of the United States. Possibly, some of this veneration is due to the influence of time, that has led to the amplification of those virtues which preponderated, and dwarfed the faults which, at most, were of the minor kind; for history is always disposed sooner or later to paint with extremes of color, so that she ultimately glorifies, or even deifies, on the one hand, or belittles or execrates on the other. An English critic has recently said that our American Presidents have been chosen from the ranks of those who possess no striking traits personally, nor suggest force,—in other words, that the only standard is that of mediocrity; and that, for this reason, they have been safe; but such a conclusion is by no means true. This kind of "mediocrity," which has had so much to do with the steady development of the country, has had no more striking exemplar in recent years than Mr. McKinley, whose administration will for-

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ever be looked upon as one marked by stability, business-like methods, and official acts free from sensationalism, but far-reaching in effect. Like the living Cleveland, McKinley was moderate, calm, logical and deliberate, and rarely made mistakes; and here, as in other cases, we find that native mental vigor which was so conspicuous in the case of Lincoln, and is always evidence of the intellectual strength possessed by those who have hewn their own way, and from the beginning, largely through necessity, have been forced to cultivate their faculties—the result being a healthy mentality in which a high degree of reasoning power and judgment prevails. In the rugged American this exists, perhaps, to a greater degree than among other people; and the best kind of mental health is found amongst those whose advancement in life is connected with a struggle, more or less intense. In other words, they are really "born to greatness" in its best sense; for, in the beginning, they have everything to make, and, when the time comes for wider action and greater responsibility, they are prepared and competent.

In spite of political exigencies, and because of the temporary jingoism or hysterical excitement inseparably connected with the war crises of our country, men who were neither great in other ways than as soldiers, nor especially efficient, have been chosen. The long list of Presidents contains a large proportion of sane and useful men who have intelligently and successfully filled the first office of the land, and no less than nineteen of these were lawyers, a fact which confirms De Tocqueville's observation that the legal training is that which best qualifies and makes Presidents. In this connection, Mr. Olney, in his thoughtful speech before the Harvard Law School Association a few weeks ago, said: "I believe, and prefer to believe, that the lawyers of the day have not abdicated what is their normal function under every government having a right to be free or enlightened—that they are still the ruling class in our country, in the sense that, in matters of law and of government, they determine the predominant tone of the community." Six of our Presidents, including the immortal Washington, were soldiers, who, through the enthusiasm inspired by their valor, or in consequence of the gratitude of the people, were thus rewarded; but, with few exceptions, it cannot be said that these men were as successful as those who came from civil life, and in four cases the martial prowess seems

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to have been the only qualification. At best, they have been indifferent Presidents; and sometimes, owing to their impulsiveness, they have been anything but "safe." As an example, while Andrew Jackson was, on the whole, a strong man, his impetuous temper, obstinacy and high-handed exercise of power betrayed a mental unfitness which led to general public uneasiness, and at times something more. When, in the face of the House and the Senate, he ruined the United States Bank in 1829, and subsequently created widespread disaster, although ultimately the withdrawal of government funds into the public treasury was beneficial, the means chosen were arbitrary and unnecessary. But, in spite of this disregard of immediate consequences to others, he was popular and great enough to successfully fulfil his administration; whereas men who have imitated his arbitrary methods have ingloriously failed; and it can be seen how an insanely arrogant and egotistic individual, invested with enough power, might cause widespread ruin through an arbitrary act. While Jackson had a conscious sense of his own strength, was fearless and independent to a dangerous degree, there were underlying sterling qualities which redeemed him. So far as the writer knows, no President or high official of the United States has ever been disqualified by reason of mental disease; although, without doubt, certain psychopathic individuals have been allowed to show their mental peculiarities to the discomfort of their associates. John Randolph, of Roanoke, was certainly of unsound mind, and it is not difficult to trace in his conduct a form of insanity to which reference has been already made. Among some people, there seems to be a disposition to consider the great Lincoln as not absolutely of sound mind, and whatever gave rise to such a view was undoubtedly due to his melancholy temperament, and to a certain strain of religious feeling which was occasionally expressed in a manner that was not entirely understood. It has even been asserted that he had hallucinations, but that appears to be unfounded in fact. In a personal letter to the writer his biographer, the Hon. John Hay, says: "He was a man of deeply religious feeling, rather than theological beliefs. There was a vein of mysticism which characterized him in all his life, but he was not what I would call superstitious, and so far as I know, he had no hallucinations." Although strikingly eccentric, his peculiarities of character, which did not in the least affect his phenomenal

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greatness of mind, were largely the result of early environment and education.

The nomination of candidates for public offices of all kinds is too often made by those who do not inquire sufficiently as to the mental fitness of the men of their choice, whose estimate of what is required is superficial and one-sided. Such a person is too often taken at his own estimate, and if he be possessed of sufficient persistence and suggestive force his success may be due to the popular wave of excitement which he creates. Though the intelligent minority recognizes the mental deficiencies, which are familiar enough to the student of morbid psychology, the voting majority is apt to be delighted by fulminating manner and speech, the display of intense energy, which at times is laudable enough, but is apt to fizzle out before some great public work is barely launched.

Sudden changes in feeling or purpose, so characteristic of psychopathic subjects, are the rule, and the absence of tenacity of purpose, except so far as it applies to self-advancement of the individual, is conspicuous. Such characters rarely possess the independent moral courage which brings with it preparedness for disaster; nor the knowledge that even failure and criticism, and sometimes execration, on the part of the public and the press, count for nothing in the consciousness of right, and in the performance of duty. The great office of President, especially, should be filled by a man with administrative and executive ability, who has a thorough respect for the Constitution, and who possesses logical training, poise, modesty and self-control. The steed of Boulanger should not be used to carry a person into the White House, nor can the end be obtained by any number of *tours de force*. On the contrary, the successful and suitable candidate should come from the ranks of those whose lives have been marked by sturdiness and mental sobriety, and by careers that require development of thought, and that kind of force which is cumulative and generated by the gradual perfection of all the intellectual faculties, and of none at the expense of others.

ALLAN MCLANE HAMILTON.

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LITERATURE IN THE NEW CENTURY.

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I.

THERE is no disguising the difficulty of any attempt to survey the whole field of literature as it is disclosed before us now at the opening of a new century; and there is no denying the danger of any effort to declare the outlook in the actual present and the prospect in the immediate future. How is it possible to project our vision, to foresee whither the current is bearing us, to anticipate the rocks ahead and the shallows whereon our bark may be beached?

But one reflection is as obvious as it is helpful. The problems of literature are not often merely literary; and, in so far as literature is an honest attempt to express life,—as it always has been at the moments of highest achievement,—the problems of literature must have an intimate relation to the problems which confront us insistently in life. If we turn from the disputations of the schools and look out on the world, we may discover forces at work in society which are exerting also a potent influence upon the future of literature.

Now that the century in which we were born and bred is receding swiftly into the past, we can perceive in the perspective more clearly than ever before its larger movements and its main endeavor. We are at last beginning to be able to estimate the heritage it has left us, and to see for ourselves what our portion is, what our possessions are, and what our obligations. While it is for us to make the twentieth century, no doubt, we need ever to remember that it was the nineteenth century which made us; and we do not know ourselves if we fail to understand the years in which we were moulded to the work that lies before us.

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It is well for us to single out the salient characteristics of the nineteenth century. It is for us to seize the significance of the striking advance in scientific method, for example, and of the widespread acceptance of the scientific attitude. It is for us, again, to recognize the meaning of that extension of the democratic movement, which is the most evident characteristic of the past sixscore years. It is for us, once more, to weigh the importance of the intensifying of the national spirit and of the sharpening of racial pride. And, finally, it is for us to take account also of the growth of what must be called "cosmopolitanism," that breaking down of the hostile barriers keeping one people apart from the others, ignorant of them, and often contemptuous.

Here, then, are four legacies from the nineteenth century to the twentieth:—first, the scientific spirit; second, the spread of democracy; third, the assertion of nationality; and, fourth, that stepping across the confines of language and race, for which we have no more accurate name than "cosmopolitanism."

II.

"The scientific spirit," so an acute American critic defined it recently in an essay on Carlyle,—who was devoid of it and detested it,—"the scientific spirit signifies poise between hypothesis and verification, between statement and proof, between appearance and reality. It is inspired by the impulse of investigation tempered with distrust and edged with curiosity. It is at once avid of certainty and sceptical of seeming. It is enthusiastically patient, nobly literal, candid, tolerant, hospitable." This is the statement of a man of letters, who had found in science "a tonic force" stimulating to all the arts.

By the side of this, it may be well to set also the statement of a man of science. In his address delivered in St. Louis in December, 1903, the President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science,—who is also the president of one of the foremost of American universities,—declared that "the fundamental characteristic of the scientific method is honesty. . . . The sole object is to learn the truth and to be guided by the truth. Absolute accuracy, absolute fidelity, absolute honesty are the prime conditions of scientific progress." And then Dr. Remsen went on to make the significant assertion that "the constant use of the scientific method must in the end leave its impress

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upon him who uses it. A life spent in accord with scientific teaching would be of a high order. It would practically conform to the teachings of the highest type of religion."

This "use of the scientific method" is as remote as may be from that barren adoption of scientific phrases and that sterile application of scientific formulas, which may be dismissed as an aspect of "science falsely so called." It is of deeper import also than any mere utilization by art of the discoveries of science, however helpful this may be. The painter has been aided by science to perceive more precisely the effect of the vibrations of light and to analyze more sharply the successive stages of animal movement; the poet also has found his profit in the wider knowledge brought to us by later investigations. Longfellow, for example, drew upon astronomy for the figure with which he once made plain his moral:

> "Were a star quenched on high,
> For ages would its light,
> Still travelling downward from the sky,
> Shine on our mortal sight.
>
> "So, when a great man dies,
> For years beyond our ken
> The light he leaves behind him lies
> Upon the paths of men."

Already had Wordsworth, a hundred years ago, welcomed "the remotest discoveries of the chemist, the botanist and mineralogist," as "proper objects of the poet's art," declaring that "if the time should ever come when what is now called 'science,' thus familiarized to men, shall be ready to put on, as it were, a form of flesh and blood, the poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration, and will welcome the being thus produced as a dear and genuine inmate of the household of man."

Again, the "use of the scientific method" is not equivalent to the application in the arts of scientific theories, although here once more the man of letters is free to take these for his own and to bend them to his purpose. Ibsen has found in the doctrine of heredity a modern analogue of the ancient Greek idea of fate; and although he may not "see life steadily and see it whole," he has been enabled to invest his sombre "Ghosts" with not a little of the inexorable inevitability which we feel to be so ap-

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palling in the master work of Sophocles. Criticism, no less than creation, has been stimulated by scientific hypothesis; and for one thing, the conception of literary history has been wholly transformed since the theory of evolution was declared. To M. Brunetière we owe the application of this doctrine to the development of the drama in his own language. He has shown us most convincingly how the several literary forms,—the lyric, the oration, the epic, with its illegitimate descendant the modern novel in prose,—may cross-fertilize each other from time to time, and also how the casual hybrids that result are ever struggling to revert each to its own species.

Science is thus seen to be stimulating to art; but the "use of the scientific method" would seem to be more than stimulation only. It leads the practitioners of the several arts to set up an ideal of disinterestedness, inspired by a lofty curiosity, which shall scorn nothing as insignificant, and which is ever eager after knowledge ascertained for its own sake. As it abhors the abnormal and the freakish, the superficial and the extravagant, it helps the creative artist to strive for a more classic directness and simplicity; and it guides the critic toward passionless proportion and moderation. Although it tends toward intellectual freedom, it forces us always to recognize the reign of law. It establishes the strength of the social bond, and thereby, for example, it aids us to see that, although romance is ever young and ever true, what is known as "neo-romanticism," with its reckless assertion of individual whim, is anti-social, and therefore probably immoral.

The "use of the scientific method" will surely strengthen the conscience of the novelist and of the dramatist; and it will train them to a sterner veracity in dealing with human character. It will inhibit that pitiful tendency toward a falsification of the facts of life, which asserts the reform of a character in the twinkling of an eye just before the final fall of the curtain. It will lead to a renunciation of the feeble and summary psychology which permits a man of indurated habits of weakness or of wickedness to transform himself by a single and sudden effort of will. And, on the other hand, it may tempt certain students of life, subtler than their fellow craftsmen and more inquisitive, to dwell unduly on the mere machinery of human motive and to seek not a rich portrayal of the actions of men and women, but an arid analysis of the mechanism of their im-

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pulses. More than one novelist of the twentieth century has already yielded to this tendency, which is, no doubt, only the negative defect accompanying a positive quality. Yet it indicates an imperfect appreciation of the artist's duty. "In every art," so Taine reminded us, "it is necessary to linger long over the true in order to attain the beautiful. The eye, fixing itself on an object, begins by noting details with an excess of precision and fulness; it is only later, when the inventory is complete, that the mind, master of its wealth, rises higher, in order to take or to neglect what suits it."

The attitude of the literary critic will be modified by the constant use of the scientific method, quite as much as the attitude of the literary creator. He will seek ever to relate a work of art, whether it is an epic or a tragedy, a novel or a play, to its environment, weighing all the circumstances of its creation. He will strive to estimate it as it is, of course, but also as a contribution to the evolution of its species made by a given people at a given period. He will endeavor to keep himself free from lip-service and from ancestor-worship, holding himself derelict to his duty if he should fail to admit frankly that in every masterpiece of the past, however transcendent its merits, there must needs be much that is temporary admixed with more that is permanent,—many things which pleased its author's countrymen in his own time and which do not appeal to us, even though we can perceive also what is eternal and universal, even though we read into it much that the author's contemporaries had not our eyes to perceive. All the works of Shakspere and of Molière are not of equal value; and even the finest of them is not impeccable; and a literary critic who has a scientific sincerity will not gloss over the minor defects, whatever his desire to concentrate attention on the nobler qualities by which Shakspere and Molière achieved their mighty fame. Indeed, the scientific spirit will make it plain that an unwavering admiration for all the works of a great writer, unequal as these must be of necessity, is proof in itself of an obvious inability to perceive wherein lies his real greatness.

Whatever the service the scientific spirit is likely to render in the future, we need to be on our guard against the obsession of science itself. There is danger that an exclusive devotion to science may starve out all interest in the arts, to the impover-

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ishment of the soul. Already there are examples of men who hold science to be all-sufficient and who insist that it has superseded art. Already is it necessary to recall Lowell's setting off of "art, whose concern is with the ideal and the potential, from science which is limited by the actual and the positive." Science bids us go so far and no farther, despite the fact that man longs to peer beyond the confines. Vistas closed to science are opened for us by art. Science fails us if we ask too much; for it provides no explanation of the enigmas of existence. Above all, it tempts us to a hard and fast acceptance of its own formulas, an acceptance as deadening to progress as it is false to the scientific spirit itself. "History warns us," so Huxley declared, "that it is the customary fate of new truths to begin as heresies, and to end as superstitions."

III.

The growth of the scientific spirit is not more evident in the nineteenth century than the spread of the democratic movement. Democracy in its inner essence means not only the slow broadening down of government until it rests upon the assured foundation of the people as a whole, it signifies also the final disappearance of the feudal organization, of the system of caste, of the privileges which are not founded on justice, of the belief in any superiority conferred by the accident of birth. It starts with the assertion of the equality of all men before the law; and it ends with the right of every man to do his own thinking. Accepting the dignity of human nature, the democratic spirit, in its finer manifestations, is free from intolerance and rich in sympathy, rejoicing to learn how the other half lives. It is increasingly interested in human personality, in spite of the fact that humanity no longer bulks as big in the universe as it did before scientific discovery shattered the ancient assumption that the world had been made for man alone.

Perhaps, indeed, it is the perception of our own insignificance which is making us cling together more closely and seek to understand each other at least, even if we must ever fail to grasp the full import of the cosmic scheme. Whatever the reason, there is no gainsaying the growth of fellow feeling and of a curiosity founded on friendly interest,—both of which are revealed far more abundantly in our later literatures than in the earlier classics. In the severe masterpieces of the Greek drama,

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for example, we may discover a lack of this warmth of sympathy; and we cannot but suspect a certain aloofness, which is akin to callousness. The cultivated citizens of Athens were supported by slave-labor; but their great dramatic poets cast no light on the life of these slaves or on the sad conditions of their servitude. Something of this narrow chilliness is to be detected also in the literature of the court of Louis XIV.; Corneille and Racine prefer to ignore not only the peasant but also the burgher; and it is partly because Molière's outlook on life is broader that the master of comedy appears to us now so much greater than his tragic contemporaries. Even of late the Latin races have seemed perhaps a little less susceptible to this appeal than the Teutonic or the Slavonic, and the impassive contempt of Flaubert and of Maupassant toward the creatures of their imaginative observation is more characteristic of the French attitude than the genial compassion of Daudet. In Dickens and in George Eliot there is no aristocratic remoteness; and Turgenieff and Tolstoy are innocent of haughty condescension. Everywhere now in the new century can we perceive the working of the democratic spirit, making literature more clear-sighted, more tolerant, more pitying.

In his uplifting discussion of democracy, Lowell sought to encourage the timid souls who dreaded the danger that it might "reduce all mankind to a dead level of mediocrity" and that it might "lessen the respect due to eminence whether in station, virtue, or genius"; and he explained that, in fact, democracy meant a career open to talent, an opportunity equal to all, and therefore in reality a larger likelihood that genius would be set free. Here in America we have discovered by more than a century of experience that democracy levels up and not down; and that it is not jealous of a commanding personality even in public life, revealing a swift shrewdness of its own in gauging character, and showing both respect and regard for the independent leaders strong enough to withstand what may seem at the moment to be the popular will.

Nor is democracy hostile to original genius, or slow to recognize it. The people as a whole may throw careless and liberal rewards to the jesters and to the sycophants who are seeking its favor, as their forerunners sought to gain the ear of the monarchs of old, but the authors of substantial popularity are never those who abase themselves or who scheme to cajole. At the beginning

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of the twentieth century there were only two writers whose new books appeared simultaneously in half a dozen different tongues; and what man has ever been so foolish as to call Ibsen and Tolstoy flatterers of humanity? The sturdy independence of these masters, their sincerity, their obstinate reiteration each of his own message,—these are main reasons for the esteem in which they are held. And in our own language, the two writers of widest renown are Mark Twain and Rudyard Kipling, known wherever English is spoken, in every remote corner of the seven seas, one an American of the Americans and the other the spokesman of the British Empire. They are not only conscientious craftsmen, each in his own way, but moralists also and even preachers; and they go forward in the path they have marked out, each for himself, with no swervings aside to curry favor or to avoid unpopularity.

The fear has been expressed freely that the position of literature is made more precarious by the recent immense increase in the reading public, deficient in standards of taste and anxious to be amused. It is in the hope of hitting the fancy of this motley body that there is now a tumultuous multiplication of books of every degree of merit; and amid all this din there must be redoubled difficulty of choice. Yet the selection gets itself made somehow, and not unsatisfactorily. Unworthy books may have vogue for a while, and even adulation, but their fame is fleeting. The books which the last generation transmitted to us were, after all, the books best worth our consideration; and we may be confident that the books we shall pass along to the next generation will be as wisely selected. Out of the wasteful overproduction only those works emerge which have in them something that the world will not willingly let die.

Those books that survive are always chosen from out the books that have been popular, and never from those that failed to catch the ear of their contemporaries. The poet who scorns the men of his own time and who retires into an ivory tower to rhyme for the sole enjoyment of his fellow mandarins, the poet who writes for posterity, will wait in vain for his audience. Never has posterity reversed an unfavorable verdict of an artist's own century. As Cicero said—and Cicero was both an aristocrat and an artist in letters,—"given time and opportunity, the recognition of the many is as necessary a test of excellence in an

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artist as that of the few." Verse, however exquisite, is almost valueless if its appeal is merely technical and merely academic, if it pleases only the sophisticated palate of the dilettant, if it fails to touch the heart of the plain people. That which vauntingly styles itself the "*écriture artiste*" must reap its reward promptly in praise from the *précieuses ridicules* of the hour. It may please those who pretend to culture without possessing even education; but this aristocratic affectation has no roots and it is doomed to wither swiftly, as one fad is ever fading away before another, as Asianism, euphuism, and Gongorism have withered in the past.

Fictitious reputations may be inflated for a little space; but all the while the public is slowly making up its mind; and the judgment of the main body is as trustworthy as it is enduring. "Robinson Crusoe" and "Pilgrim's Progress" hold their own generation after generation, although the cultivated class did not discover their merits until long after the plain people had taken them to heart. Cervantes and Shakspere were widely popular from the start; and appreciative criticism limped lamely after the approval of the mob. The "Jungle-Book" and "Huckleberry Finn" will be found in the hands of countless readers when many a book now bepraised by literary critics has slipped out of sight forever. Whatever blunders, in belauding, the plain people may make now and again, in time they come unfailingly to a hearty appreciation of work that is honest, genuine and broad in its appeal; and when once they have laid hold of the real thing they hold fast with abiding loyalty.

IV.

As significant as the spread of democracy in the nineteenth century is the success with which the abstract idea of nationality has expressed itself in concrete form. Within less than two-score years Italy has ceased to be only a geographical expression; and Germany has given itself boundaries more sharply defined than those claimed for the fatherland by the martial lyric of a century ago. Hungary has asserted itself against the Austrians, and Norway against the Swedes; and each by the stiffening of racial pride has insisted on the recognition of its national integrity. This is but the accomplishment of an ideal toward which the western world has been tending since it emerged

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from the Dark Ages into the Renascence and since it began to suspect that the Holy Roman Empire was only the empty shadow of a disestablished realm. In the long centuries the heptarchy in England had been followed by a monarchy with London for its capital; and in like manner the seven kingdoms of Spain had been united under monarchs who dwelt in Madrid. Slowly had Normandy and Gascony, Burgundy and Provence been incorporated with the France whereof the chief city was Paris.

Latin had been the tongue of every man who was entitled to claim benefit of clergy; but slowly the modern languages compacted themselves out of the warring dialects when race after race came to a consciousness of its unity and when the speech of a capital was set up at last as the standard to which all were expected to conform. In Latin Dante discussed the vulgar tongue, though he wrote his "Divine Comedy" in his provincial Tuscan; yet Petrarch, who came after, was afraid that his poems in Italian were, by that fact, fated to be transitory. Chaucer made choice of the dialect of London, performing for it the service Dante had rendered to the speech of the Florentines; yet Bacon and Newton went back to Latin as the language still common to men of science. Milton practised his pen in Latin verse, but never hesitated to compose his epic in English. Latin served Descartes and Spinoza, men of science again; and it was not until the nineteenth century that the invading vernaculars finally ousted the language of the learned which had once been in universal use. And even now Latin is retained by the church which still styles itself Catholic.

It was as fortunate as it was necessary that the single language of the learned should give way before the vulgar tongues, the speech of the people, each in its own region best fitted to phrase the feelings and the aspirations of races dissimilar in their characteristics and in their ideals. No one tongue could voice the opposite desires of the northern peoples and of the southern; and we see the several modern languages revealing by their structure as well as by their vocabularies the essential qualities of the races that fashioned them, each for its own use. Indeed, these racial characteristics are so distinct and so evident to us now that we fancy we can detect them even though they are disguised in the language of Rome; and we find significance in the fact that Seneca, the grandiloquent rhetorician, was a Spaniard by

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birth, and that Petronius, the robust realist, was probably born in what is now France.

The segregation of nationality has been accompanied by an increasing interest in the several states out of which the nation has made itself, and sometimes even by an effort to raise the dialects of these provinces up to the literary standard of the national language. In this there is no disloyalty to the national ideal,—rather is it to be taken as a tribute to the nation, since it seeks to call attention again to the several strands twined in the single bond. In literature this tendency is reflected in a wider liking for local color and in an intense relish for the flavor of the soil. We find Verga painting the violent passions of the Sicilians, and Reuter depicting the calmer joys of the Platt-Deutsch. We see Maupassant etching the canny and cautious Normans, while Daudet brushed in broadly the expansive exuberance of the Provençals. We delight alike in the Wessex-folk of Mr. Hardy and in the humorous Scots of Mr. Barrie. We extend an equal welcome to the patient figures of New England spinsterhood as drawn by Miss Jewett and Miss Wilkins, and to the virile Westerners set boldly on their feet by Mr. Wister and Mr. Garland.

What we wish to have explored for us are not only the nooks and corners of our own nation; those of other races appeal also to our sympathetic curiosity. These inquiries help us to understand the larger peoples, of whom the smaller communities are constituent elements. They serve to sharpen our insight into the differences which divide one race from another; and the contrast of Daudet and Maupassant on the one hand with Mark Twain and Kipling on the other brings out the width of the gap that yawns between the Latins (with their solidarity of the family and with their reliance on the social instinct) and the Teutons (with their energetic independence and their aggressive individuality). With increase of knowledge there is less likelihood of mutual misunderstandings; and here literature performs a most useful service to the cause of civilization. As Tennyson once said, "it is the authors, more than the diplomats, who make nations love one another." Fortunately, no high tariff can keep out the masterpieces of foreign literature which freely cross the frontier, bearing messages of good-will and broadening our knowledge of our fellow men.

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The deeper interest in the expression of national qualities and in the representation of provincial peculiarities is to-day accompanied by an increasing cosmopolitanism which seems to be casting down the barriers of race and of language. More than fourscore years ago, Goethe said that even then national literature was "rather an unmeaning term" as "the epoch of world literature was at hand." With all his wisdom Goethe failed to perceive that cosmopolitanism is a sorry thing when it is not the final expression of patriotism. An artist without a country and with no roots in the soil of his nativity is not likely to bring forth flower and fruit. As an American critic aptly put it, "a true cosmopolitan is at home,—even in his own country," and a Russian novelist has set forth the same thought. It is the wisest character in Turgenieff's "Dimitri Roudine" who asserted that the great misfortune of the hero was his ignorance of his native land. "Russia can get along without any of us, but we cannot do without Russia. Woe betide him who does not understand her, and still more him who really forgets the manners and the ideas of his fatherland! Cosmopolitanism is an absurdity and a zero,—less than a zero; outside of nationality, there is no art, no truth, no life possible."

Perhaps it may be feasible to attempt a reconciliation of Turgenieff and Goethe, by pointing out that the cosmopolitanism of this growing century is revealed only in a similarity of the external forms of literature, while it is the national spirit which supplies the essential inspiration that gives life. For example, it is a fact that the "Demi-Monde" of Dumas, the "Pillars of Society" of Ibsen, the "Magda" of Sudermann, the "Grand Galeoto" of Echegaray, "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" of Pinero, the "Gioconda" of d'Annunzio are all of them cast in the same dramatic mould; but it is also a fact that the metal of which each is made was smelted in the native land of its author. Similar as they are in structure, in their artistic formula, they are radically dissimilar in their essence, in the motives that move the characters and in their outlook on life; and this dissimilarity is due not alone to the individuality of the several authors,—it is due chiefly to the nationality of each.

Of course, international borrowings have always been profitable to the arts,—not merely the taking over of raw material, but the more stimulating absorption of methods and processes

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and even of artistic ideals. The Sicilian Gorgias had for a pupil the Athenian Isocrates; and the style of the Greek was imitated by the Roman Cicero, thus helping to sustain the standard of oratory in every modern language. The "Matron of Ephesus" of Petronius was the great-grandmother of the "Yvette" of Maupassant; and the dialogues of Herondas and of Theocritus might serve as models for many a vignette of modern life. The "Golden Ass" went before "Gil Blas" and made a path for him; and "Gil Blas" pointed the way for "Huckleberry Finn." It is easy to detect the influence of Richardson on Rousseau, of Rousseau on George Sand, of George Sand on Turgenieff, of Turgenieff on Mr. Henry James, of Mr. James on M. Paul Bourget, of M. Bourget on Signor d'Annunzio; and yet there is no denying that Richardson is radically English, that Turgenieff is thoroughly Russian, and that d'Annunzio is essentially Italian.

In like manner we may recognize the striking similarity—but only in so far as the external form is concerned—discoverable in those short stories which are as abundant as they are important in every modern literature; and yet much of our delight in these brief studies from life is due to the pungency of their local flavor, whether they were written by Kjelland or by Sacher-Masoch, by Auerbach or by Daudet, by Barrie or by Bret Harte. "All can grow the flower now, for all have got the seed;" but the blossoms are rich with the strength of the soil in which each of them is rooted.

This racial individuality is our immediate hope; it is our safeguard against craftsmanship, against dilettant dexterity, against cleverness for its own sake, against the danger that our cosmopolitanism may degenerate into Alexandrianism and that our century may come to be like the age of the Antonines, when a "cloud of critics, of compilers, of commentators darkened the face of learning," so Gibbon tells us, and "the decline of genius was soon followed by the corruption of taste." It is this spirit of nationality which will supply needful idealism. It will allow a man of letters to frequent the past without becoming archaic and to travel abroad without becoming exotic, because it will supply him always with a good reason for remaining a citizen of his own country.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

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THE MAKING OF MODERN RACES.

BY DR. P. CHALMERS MITCHELL.

MOST of us are familiar with the gray pellets, about the size of peas, which are sold to children under some such designation as "Pharaoh's serpents' eggs." When a light is applied to one of these it ignites, and expands into a long and spirally twisted coil of brittle ash that occupies much more than the space of an unignited egg. Many conditions go to the making of such a "serpent." The egg itself is composed of a mercury compound, a property of which is to combine with the atmospheric oxygen so as to form a bulky mass. A certain temperature, given at first by the application of the lighted match, is necessary to jolt the chemicals into combination. The shape of the serpent is the result, partly of intrinsic factors—such as the composition, mechanical mixture, consistency and shape of the egg; partly of external factors—such as the amount of oxygen in the surrounding air, the degree and the mode of application of the initial heat, the proportion of moisture in the air, the absence or presence and direction of draughts, the atmospheric pressure, and so forth. No doubt, comparatively violent chemical processes of this kind, occurring within a short space of time, are difficult to control; but it is easy to see that the production of uniformly shaped serpents from many eggs would involve merely the problem of making eggs of uniform shape and composition, and of allowing the chemical conflagration to take place only under uniform external conditions. In the actual experiments, made repeatedly by children, the conditions are tolerably uniform, and complete failure or the production of masses plausibly serpentine is the usual result. The vastly more complicated and delicate adjustments in the development of real eggs into real adults are similar in kind; the eggs fail to develop, or the creatures assume

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an average final form in obedience to an average condition of surrounding forces, and, in so doing, bring about the average superficies of the race.

A curious and somewhat unexpected result of recent progress in biological knowledge is, that we are learning to attach an increasing importance to the effect of the environment in shaping the whole race by shaping each individual life. When the speculations of Weismann first threw doubt on the transmission of acquired characters, it seemed to many that, were his conclusions true, the ground was cut from under belief in the efficacy of the most plainly important of the forces that mould creatures into different races; but, although we are learning to discard from our conceptions belief in the inheritance of plastic effects, we are gaining an increasing knowledge of their extent and importance on individual lives. The eggs, or germinal masses, take from their parents, of which they were part, the power to respond in similar ways to similar external forces, and children resemble their parents in so far as the external forces operating on their initial material resemble those which went to the making of their parents. It is necessary to realize that the effect of these forces is ephemeral, and that it has to be reproduced in each generation; it is no more necessary to suppose the effects inherited than to suppose that the west wind, to-day slanting a thousand columns of smoke to the east, will produce a general tendency obvious in to-morrow's calm. Were the wind always from the west, we might forget so constant a factor, and come to regard an unvaried easterly inclination as due to something inherent in the nature of smoke and chimneys.

When similar conditions persist through many generations, another factor comes into play. Only those strains capable of responding in a favorable way to the prevailing conditions succeed; and there is a continuous and gradual elimination of all the other strains, until, after a sufficient time, they have been weeded out of the stock, and, practically, only such embryos are produced as are capable of responding in a particular average way to a particular average of conditions. All life has grown old and formal with regard to the most persistent features of its environment; many circumstances, now necessary to it, were once alternatives, and many to which it is now neutral may similarly become necessary for future branches and races.

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The followers of Lamarck and of Darwin alike have accumulated abundant evidence of the existence and effect of these alternative external conditions. The constitution of most young creatures, which have passed through the narrow defile of embryonic life, is robust; changes of the incident forces that would arrest the fixed reactions of embryonic life, leave the free-living creature unharmed, although not unchanged, and have a vast influence in determining the average structure of the race in each generation. Alpine life, with its combination of decreased pressure and atmospheric humidity, greater radiation and extremes of heat and cold, causes great and immediate changes in all plants and animals not killed by the new conditions. Removal from the hills to the lowlands has been shown, in the case of Auvergne and Limousin in France, to produce immediate effects on plants, animals and men. Transference to a warmer climate thins the feathers of birds and the fur of mammals. Plants that usually bear thin, hairy leaves, may produce, under the influence of excess of moisture or of salinity, smooth or fleshy leaves, and the structure of many aquatic animals varies with the degree of salinity of the water they inhabit. In the lower Fungi and in Bacteria, the whole character of the organism changes so markedly with the external conditions that, before a reasonable definition of a form can be given, bacteriologists have to pursue its metamorphoses through a multitude of changing media. The nature of the food affects the size, appearance, structure and fertility of a very large number of animals and plants. Indeed, a large part of Natural History, ancient and modern, relates to the effects of these external factors; what the French call the "circumambient media" would be accepted as the active agents in producing the average characters of races by their plastic effects on individual lives, but for two sets of reasons, one set practical, the other historical. In nature, comparative experiments are seldom found together, and we are indisposed to seek for uniform causes of uniform results, forgetting that the average uniformity is as much due to averagely uniform conditions as the modifications experimentally produced in a few cases are due to unusual conditions. Historically, the effect of the circumambient media on individual lives has been obscured by controversy as to the transmission of that effect to progeny. Quite apart from such inheritance, the individuals which form a race

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owe a large part of their common or racial characters to the effects produced on the initial material in each life by similar external conditions.

In the same fashion in which the embryonic stages have become rigidly adapted to fixed conditions by the elimination, during untold centuries, of all variations unsuited to these relatively fixed conditions, the later stages may also become rigidly adapted to special conditions. Plants or animals, originally endowed with the power of responding by different kinds of growth to different kinds of climate, may come to produce only forms capable of responding to one kind of climate by one kind of growth, if for a sufficient number of generations they have been subjected only to that one kind of climate. And so, by a process of selection, races gradually come to show a higher and higher average uniformity if they are subjected to similar average conditions. The longer the same or the similar conditions persist, the higher the average must rise, not only as a result of selection to the conditions, but as an automatic result of intercrossing. In the tenth generation a man has 1024 ancestors, from each of whom he may inherit something. One thousand and twenty-four individuals chosen at random would form a fair sample of any population, and the effect of this intercrossing is to obliterate gradually individual differences, and to smooth out the whole race into uniformity. However extreme a variation any individual may present, his children, inheriting not only from him, but from all his ancestors, are likely, with respect to the abnormality, to show progression toward the mean type, if the parental variation were towards degeneracy, regression towards the mean, if it were an advance.

Naturalists have long recognized the importance of Isolation, of what Darwin called the "corner-stone of the breeder's art," in accentuating the racial effect of the various moulding forces we have passed in review. If a group, consisting of members originally similar, be divided into two isolated groups, the combination of circumambient media is certain to differ in the two cases, and, generation after generation, the isolated groups will be moulded into different characters. Next, the action or incidence of selection will differ almost inevitably in the two cases. It is, no doubt, possible to imagine that a breeder might apply precisely the same discrimination in the case of isolated groups;

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but in the more occasional and less relentless action of natural selection, identity of operation and result in two separate cases is almost impossible to imagine. Next, isolation must have its beginning, and the individuals forming each isolated part cannot be absolutely identical in average character from the first. Finally, the importance of the hereditary weight of mediocrity becomes of peculiar value under isolation, as that, in the first place, means the prevention of free intercrossing. From the moment of separation, the hereditary tendencies begin to be summed up in different directions; different racial averages, increasingly different as the isolation becomes more complete and more prolonged, are produced.

We must now turn to our immediate purpose, the application of these general principles to Man. The modern white nations, France and Germany, Russia, Italy, Great Britain and the United States are species of white man in the making. The increasing fervors of patriotism and nationalism are expressions of the fact that the nations are becoming self-conscious, and are realizing their increasing differentiations. The nations do not at present possess zoological differentiation to any marked extent, and the initial material that has gone to form them is much more similar than would appear from such current designations as Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Celtic, Latin, Sclavonic, and so forth. The stock from which have been derived these modern populations probably consisted of at least three old races. One of these, called the Mediterranean because of its historical and actual association with the shores of that inland sea, is marked zoologically by a relative prevalence of short stature, dark complexion, and long or, as it is termed, *dolichocephalic* head. The second, generally called Teutonic, although its centre is Scandinavia rather than Germany, and although it is not at all to be correlated with political Teutonism, presents the combination of great stature, marked blondness of skin, eyes and hair, and long-headedness. The third, called by Professor Ripley, the Alpine race, for obvious geographical reasons, intrudes between the others in a great wedge, its point towards the west, its base broadening through Central Europe towards Asia. It is intermediate between the others in stature and coloration, but is in marked contrast with regard to head form; for it displays a high average of brachycephaly or round-headedness.

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We have no exact knowledge as to the origin of these raw materials of the modern nations, and still less idea of the forces that moulded them into their existing characters; but the speculations concerning them at least serve the purpose of stamping the conception of the races into the mind. There have been left from the far past, when the pulses of the Glacial Period were waxing and waning in Europe, rare traces of a primitive people, devoid of what we call culture, using only the rudest of stone implements, short and squat in appearance, in skull extremely long-headed, prognathous and beetle-browed. They appear to have left practically no traces among the surviving European populations, and it is only their primitive characters and their presentation in an extreme form of dolichocephaly, a salient racial mark, that suggest the possibility of their being the primordial material from which were shaped the Mediterranean and Teutonic races. Of these two, the former were, apparently, the first to spread upwards and northwards from the warmer South, probably from Africa. Remains of men approaching them in type, occur in the long barrows of North Europe, and many anthropologists see their modern survivors in the short, dark types occasionally met with in the remoter parts of the British Islands and in Brittany. There is hardly even a plausible speculation as to the origin of the Teutonic race from the primitive stock. It has the marks of a race more modern, specialized and local than the others. Its physical characters are extremely distinct and uniform; it is peculiarly associated with the sea and rivers, and has spread out more recently than the others from a compact centre in Northwest Europe, its greatest successes being almost within historical times. As it penetrated areas already in occupation, it showed disposition and capacity to secure the more fertile districts—the coasts, the rich valleys and the cities as opposed to the country. With somewhat less uncertainty, the Alpine race has been set down as Asiatic in origin, and it reached Europe, perhaps bringing with it the so-called Celtic culture, before the historical successes of the Teutons. It gained territory at the expense of the Mediterranean race, pushing that back towards the south, and apparently this process still continues; while the Teutons succeeded and continue to succeed in squeezing the Alpine race into the hills, and in driving them from the fertile valleys by continuous pressure from the North.

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Such appear to be the materials of the modern white nations. In Europe, France has the most intricate admixture of elements; it has the Mediterranean race in the South, with probable survivors along the West to Brittany; the Alpine race occupies the Alpine provinces, with great outliers in the mountainous Morvan, Cévennes, Auvergne, Cantal, Gévaudan, Limousin and Brittany; the Teutonic race has invaded from the Northwest, occupying the Paris basin, Normandy, the great valley of the Loire and the fertile country down to Bordeaux, while in a narrow band it has occupied the Rhone to the sea. Britain has abundant relics of an underlying population comparable with the Mediterranean race, and most numerous in the so-called Celtic fringes; it had, almost certainly, in the men of the round barrows, a prehistoric invasion of the Alpine race which brought the Celtic culture; but these two sets of prehistoric British have been almost completely absorbed and swamped by successive and overwhelming invasions of Teutons—Saxons and Danes and Norsemen, and Normans from the Teutonic districts of France. Italy has practically only two races, the Mediterranean to the south and west of the mountainous axis of the country, the Alpine to the north and east. Russia is typically Alpine, with well-marked traces of more recent Asiatic invasion, and with some Teutonic infiltration from the northwest. Germany, in its eastern and southern parts, is strongly Alpine, much of its area containing population racially inseparable from that of Russia on the east, and from that of Switzerland on the south, while in the northwest the Teutons, who are thus not in the least characteristic of Germany, are to be found. The United States naturally have a recent extreme mingling of all three races, as its population has come from the populations of Europe.

The initial racial material, therefore, does not furnish much ground for expecting future differentiation among the nations; modern political frontiers do not in any way correspond to these old zoological distinctions. Whatever may have shaped the races in the past, existing forces are urging nearly identical racial material in different directions, and are compelling different material into convergent forms. Attempts, innumerable and unsuccessful, have been made to associate one or other of the races with mental or moral characters. Thus, as Professor Ripley has shown, the statistics of suicide and of divorce have been plotted

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out on the map of France, and the areas of their greatest severity coincide in a striking fashion with the Teutonic as opposed to the Alpine racial regions. In France, too, crimes against property are associated peculiarly with the Teutonic areas, crimes against the person with the Alpine areas, while, finally, the Teutonic regions have a relative preponderance of radicalism and republicanism and of artistic, literary and commercial success. But these associations of character and race break down completely when the attempt is made to trace them in other countries; it appears simply that they are phenomena of environment and not of race. No one can doubt that acute differences separate France and Germany along their northern frontiers; and yet Alpine and Teutonic races stretch almost in parallel lines across them. It is to the environments of the present and of the future that we must look for the differentiating forces, and not to the results of the unknown agencies of the prehistoric past.

In considering the general principles of modification of animals and plants, we found that isolation of groups was a condition, if not necessary, at least extremely favorable. It is not necessary that the isolation should be geographical, as the essential circumstance is merely the prevention of interbreeding; nor that it should be absolute, but only that breeding within a group should be more frequent than interbreeding of members of different groups. In the case of the nations, the ethnical material, although not identical, does not present important international differences. Geographical separation certainly counts towards isolation; most individuals of modern populations are as firmly fixed to their native soil as are rooted plants and slow-moving animals. At first sight, it would seem as if modern civilized man, with the modern advantages of prevision, intelligence and mechanical locomotion, must be free from the limits of geography. But reflection throws doubt on this. An animal or a savage has little but the convenience of the moment to tie him to a particular area. His world consists of little beyond the limits of his own skin, and, wherever he moves, if he find food and rude shelter, he finds himself in an accustomed home. Modern man is bound to his locality by a thousand chains, forged by his own complex needs. To uproot a peasant and transfer him with his family and belongings even into the next county is a difficult matter, and the local permanence of populations is a clearly established result

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of anthropological investigation. Naturally, it is greater in the case of rural populations, and in the case of women, with the result that the women of a peasantry always display the local type in its most strongly marked form.

But in man there are barriers tending to produce isolation other than those found among animals. First, there is language, with all its implications. In most cases, among the modern white races, marriage—and isolation is simply relative infrequency of intermarriage—is not a sudden affair of the passions, but a complex adaptation of interests, more difficult and less likely to be successful when the partners speak even different dialects. In this, as in other racial matters, individual exceptions prove nothing, their results being swamped in the broad averages; and it cannot be doubted that language helps to isolate the nations as practically as stormy arms of the sea or as snowy mountain-ranges. With language, in the case of man, and increasingly in the case of civilized man, there are associated a thousand barriers of thought and feeling, memories of past history, political and social ideals, differences that even where the geographical barriers are overcome tell strongly against any prevalence of interbreeding. A similar, and comparatively new, check on facilities of intercrossing is given by the innumerable regulations, made for diverse political, fiscal and military reasons, hedging the passage of the frontiers. All the great nations, while they welcome the casual visitor, are beginning to scrutinize the alien immigrant, some of them accepting him only under severe conditions, all of them holding him in little favor. It is needless to labor the point; we may take it as proved that the modern nations, almost year by year, are adding to the barriers that prevent free intercrossing of their populations, and are thus securing those conditions under which zoological, divergent modification is most rapid.

The seclusion of the nations is aided in another fashion by a process in which man himself plays a part. A breeder may divide his herd in two ways. He may take numerical halves at random and may allow the two groups to breed separately. In course of time, this "separate" breeding will result in differentiation between the groups. But the breeder, pursuing another principle, may place in one group all those displaying some character, say muscular activity, in another all those displaying, say, a docile temperament. In each generation he may continue this "segre-

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gate" breeding, by transferring from one group to the other any forms which appear better suited to the group in which they were not born. Naturally, under such conditions, differentiation of the two groups in divergent directions is much more rapid, and in the case of the nations many processes with a similar result occur. There is a continuous elimination from many of the nations of those who by inborn disposition are out of harmony with the political systems and ideals of their natal lands. From Germany and Italy, and to a lesser extent from France, there is a drain of those who fear or dislike compulsory military service, and the ideas associated with a dominant militarism. From Russia, not only poverty and anti-Semitism, but aspirations for freedom and education, have expatriated many of her sons. America has been populated largely by immigrants repelled by the religious and caste systems of the Old World, and it begins to appear as if to a lesser extent the American peculiarities were being strengthened by the voluntary removal from the States of the sporadic types (abnormal there) in whom have appeared or persisted the old microbes of caste. The same conscious preferences act negatively. The military nations will not attract, and would not for long retain, immigrants of other dispositions. Moreover, the social systems of every nation aid in the differentiation by favoring individuals with a natural bias harmonious with the average disposition of the nation, and by hindering those naturally least harmonious. In France, for instance, despite the froth of the Boulevards, that man in whom, as Zola put it, the red corpuscles of the blood are Royalist, is more likely to be provided with a special train to the frontier than with the opportunity to place his kinsmen in prosperity. The great Russian thinkers on questions of economy, or even on science, find their way to Geneva or to London; the easy acceptors of an autocratic system rear families in bureaucratic comfort.

We must now turn to international differences in the direct action of the circumambient media, moulding the nations in different directions. In this subject, so far as man is concerned, we are as yet confined largely to analogy, and can hope for little more than to establish a case for further investigation. Although all the more fundamental conditions for the nine months' growth of embryonic man have long since been rigidly fixed, there is still reason to suspect that external conditions can play varying

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parts. Extreme cases are known in abundance. Alcohol, cocaine, many bacterial poisons, and diseased conditions act on the growing embryo, through the blood of the mother, not only in the negative fashion of stunting growth, but positively, producing structural characters and physiological peculiarities. The influence of the nutrition of the mother is equally far-reaching, and has much to do with determining the physiological rhythm of the child. Children born of parents in a foreign land often differ from those born of the same parents in their own land, in fashions the analysis of which is baffling and obscure, but the total result of which is unmistakable. In the more usual case, where children are born in the land of their parents, it is impossible to doubt that the manifold differences in different countries as to the care, treatment, feeding and general conditions of pregnant women do play a notable part in determining the average national characters.

There is also an important selective action due to different environments. The practical measure of fertility is the number of children born alive. The causes that lead to the premature death of embryos have been little studied from a general point of view, but some known facts are suggestive. Statistics collected in one country showed that the average size of the head was greater in still-born children than in children born alive. Taking only in the most general way the relation between size of head and size of brain, and between size of brain and chance of intelligence, it may appear from this that conditions determining the physique of mothers and the choice of mothers may be setting limits to the brain-power of the race. Such conditions belong to the environment; they are questions of climate, food, air and so forth; and still more of the requisites sought for in wives, and the ideas according to which women are chosen or allow themselves to be chosen. All such conditions are essentially local, differing from nation to nation.

All marriages are not fertile, nor fertile to the same degree. The percentage of children produced by a total number of couples differs in different countries, according to innumerable differences which are part of the national environment and character. Climate, mode of life and food are obviously differentiating agents, but the habits, ideas and economic systems of the nations have more to do with it, partly by determining the average age at

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which the responsibilities of married life are assumed, and partly in a more direct fashion. Prudential restraints on fertility assume an extreme importance in different nations, according to their general prevalence, and still more according to the sections of the population which exercise them most. Local conditions, mental, moral and economic, determine whether any class at all sets deliberate limits to its natural fertility, and whether it is the landholding, the professional or the urban populations which handicap themselves in their contributions to future generations. Moreover, not only the absolute fertility but the incidence of fertility differs with local conditions. Suppose that, of one hundred couples, eighty become fertile in one environment; if the same hundred were transferred to another environment, eighty might still be fertile, but it would be a different eighty. The incidence of the percentage of children with regard to the whole population varies with physical conditions and with mental, moral and economic factors, and operates not merely through influencing the fertility of married couples, but in choosing the couples that do marry.

The final result of this part of our subject is that environment, in the largest sense of the word, is a great agent in producing, from similar initial stocks, populations of very different average character, partly by direct action on development, partly by affecting the percentage of fertility and the incidence of that percentage. All these results occur separately in each generation; but, apart from any inheritance of acquired characters, they must be summed up in the course of generations by the continual elimination of certain elements, and by the continued favoring of other strains in the populations.

When we turn to consider the action of the environment in moulding the youth and the adult, we are on ground much of which is familiar, although it has not been systematically explored. When a special environment acts for even a limited period on an adult, it almost invariably writes on him a local mark. Who has not noticed such in an American returned from five years in the *Quartier Latin*, in a young Scot on holiday from a New York counting-house, in a member of the Embassy of any country home from service in a foreign land? We set down the changes to imitation, conscious or unconscious, and think little of the slight alterations in dress, the new tricks of intonation and

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gesture. But even these, superficial as they are, are the results of reactions to new ideas and new circumstances; they are the beginning of the most salient differences that give character to modern races. But these changes, and still more the changes in physiognomy, palate, habitual diet, digestive power and so forth, all have their definite physical correlates in the tissues and fibres of brain and body, and in the physiological rhythms. The body has become different, different in itself and in its reaction to normal and abnormal stimulation. All such changes are produced in a more marked fashion when they act throughout life, and in a fashion still more marked when they act from one generation to the other, gradually moulding the whole population in one direction.

With modern civilized people, however, the circumambient media have their greatest effect on mental qualities, and it is by mental qualities that men are most markedly separated. Profound and increasing differences of temperament and of idea, the cumulating products of environment, tend to separate the nations. Here there is an enormous difference between characters peculiar to man and those which he shares with lower animals. Physical differences are slow-moving secular affairs, their summation being effected, probably, only through the ages by selective elimination. It is improbable that their effects are transmitted; each new individual has to be restamped by the environment, the only difference from generation to generation being a slow elimination of material refractory to the prevailing mode of stamping. The results of the environment on the mind are reflected in literature and the press; they traverse whole populations with almost instantaneous rapidity, and yet limit themselves to the confines of one nation, since the members of a nation that read an alien literature or that take their daily prejudices from an alien press are a negligible quantity. And every new acquisition by a literature is inherited; the new generation begins with the stage at which it found its predecessor, and every wave of emotion, of sentiment, of idea, that traversed the former generation is stored in its literature. There is no greater difference in the acquisition of characters than that between a plant propagated by slips and a plant propagated by seeds. The whole series of the former and its descendants is a continuous life; the effects of each kindly ray of the sun, each pruning or grafting by the gardener, of each

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condition of soil and temperature, are permanent things, lasting while the plant lasts. But, however a plant may have been cherished and changed in its individual life, the seedling grown from its seed has to start afresh from the dim beginning of life. Literature is a new organ of a nation, integrating its units into a new whole by a new circulation, and this new organ retains permanently the results of each generation, and is the great example of rapid change by the complete summation of all acquired characters, corresponding in this respect to the generations of a plant propagated by slips.

The ideals, emotions, political and social systems, conceptions of religion, of justice, of public danger and public utility, and the commercial and military organizations, are complicated modern factors which tend more and more to mark off the nations, and all these grow and accumulate by the new method peculiar to man. These differences, profound, far-reaching and acute, are felt the moment the frontier is traversed; and, when some special crisis brings them into prominence, we find that already members of two nations find it almost impossible to come to common ground in working out what would appear to be the simplest and most common problems of morality or justice. I have heard an average, honest Englishman argue by the hour with an average honest Frenchman on the Dreyfus case, with the result that each saw in the other a stupid or cynical perverter of morality. All such differences act afresh on each generation subjected to them, but with a growing force, the result of their accumulation in the perennial and enduring stock of written and spoken ideas.

In association with all such growing differences as we have been passing in review, selection acts strongly, favoring the natural variations in accord with them, eliminating the naturally inharmonious variations. A simple example may serve to illustrate this operation. Each form of athleticism requires for its supreme display some different combination of natural qualities. The rowing-man, the cricketer and the cyclist employ different groups of muscles, different senses, different forms of endurance, and different mental and physical capacities. Before cycling was invented, the peculiar combination of qualities necessary for great success in that sport without doubt existed, but passed unnoticed and unrewarded. With the appearance of cycles, cycle-racing and the advertising needs of cycle manufacturers, there came into

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existence the demand and the reward for the possessors of the combination, hitherto valueless, and, almost simultaneously in many countries, the new type came to meet the new demand, not created by it, but selected by it.

And so in different countries different factors stimulate different sets of the population; the incidence of favor and of rejection differs. Education, conducted on different standards and with different aims, brings rewards to different kinds of natural variations, and makes different sets of natural variations unsuccessful. The modern English reverence for success in athletic sports is the result of a profoundly complex combination of mental and physical factors. It brings with it more commercial reward to the holder of a University "blue" than to the holder of a University fellowship, and brings success—on the Stock Exchange, in business, in the teaching profession, and even in the Church—to the "good sportsman." Spreading favor and disfavor in a thousand ways, it affects the incidence of prosperity, and gives the national type a permanent set. In what direction any particular factor serves to bias the future, is an intricate problem not easy of solution. For what are selected are not peculiar qualities, but men in whom these are prominent, and with the men are favored, as if by accident, all the other individual peculiarities possessed by them. Moreover, in a paradoxical fashion, insistence on certain qualities may lead to the extinction of these. In Catholic countries, for instance, where the celibacy of the clergy is required, it would seem as if from each generation there were eliminated those elements of the population in which the ideas of purity and of religion were most strong and most faithfully fulfilled. In a succession of wars, those most ready to fight for their country are the most likely to be eliminated, and in this we may find explanation of the strange fashion in which rowdy and exuberant patriotism is the product of years of peace, while devastating wars, by killing off those most ready to fight, inaugurate a compulsory era of peace.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to follow out in detail the interactions of environment, selection and population from even the general point of view, and still more impossible to work out individual cases. Of the many problems awaiting compendious treatment, perhaps the most immediately interesting are presented by Great Britain and the United States, the

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two nations fatuously grouped as Anglo-Saxon. Every possible indication points to diverging paths for these. The initial material, in the first place, differs more than most of us care to admit. The population of America has come from every nation in Europe; that of Britain, for many hundred years, has received only trifling accessions from other lands. The population of America has been drawn from Europe not merely by blindly chosen samples, but by a process of selection, in which the spirit of adventure, of enterprise, of determination to risk unknown rather than to endure known evils, have played a great part, not only in stocking America with these characters, but in depleting Europe of them; and who shall say that the almost febrile activity of America is merely the exuberant vitality of a young nation, and not so much the result of a definite selection from the stocks of Europe? The mode of life, climate, food, moral and social ideals, political aspirations, legislation, press and literature of the two nations all differ so profoundly, and the proportions of intermarriage as compared with home marriage are so small, that he must indeed be blind to the plain facts of science who expects any other result than the production of increasing divergence. And finally, the two nations are in different stages of zoological progress. Great Britain is in the case of an old race which has spread to many distant regions, and in which local differentiation is proceeding along different lines. The United States are in the younger stage of integration; notwithstanding their huge continental area, what appears to be occurring is the gradual breaking down of the differences which, in a less populated stage, began to be formed; and the result is that an American type and not a series of local types is being produced, a type which will be new, and as unlike the Englishman of to-day as he is unlike the Frenchman or the Russian.

The general conclusions towards which I have been leading in this essay are simple. There are known very many factors the operation of which leads to the differentiation of common stocks of living beings into new species. The goal of this process is reached when the species differ so much in body, habit and disposition, that even in the absence of isolation they are relatively or absolutely infertile with one another. I have attempted to give evidence of the existence and operation of such factors, and, in addition, of special new factors in the case of the modern white

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man. The subject is vast and complex, and there is clamant need for prolonged and careful collection and classification of the facts, and I hope that, at the least, I have made out a case for such new study. In the old times, man was an animal, swayed only by the rude forces of love and hunger; and yet, under conditions of which we are ignorant, primitive man broke up into well-marked physical types, such as Negro, Mongol and White, and the beginnings of infertility are at least suspected to exist between these. The infinitely subtler and more responsive nature of the modern white man, and the greater complexity of the forces that play on him, render him liable to diverging changes more complete and more rapid. I believe that the great nations are *foci* of these changes; that they are incipient species moving apart with increasing rapidity, under the stimulus of all the factors and conditions which have made species in the past, and driven by new forces heretofore unknown.

P. CHALMERS MITCHELL.

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HOW GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT MAY BE HAD.

BY LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN, GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND.

I.

THE government of cities is conceded to be the most perplexing of American problems. Fortunately, it is also true that no political question is attracting from publicists a closer attention. With the rapid conversion now going on of villages into cities, and of small cities into great ones, the true basis for a municipal charter cannot be fixed too soon.

Just now a controversy is under way between what is known as the Federal plan and a system of State Boards. Both of these methods have been tried, partially at least, and neither of them in practical operation can be pronounced a signal success. But before condemning, or even examining to advantage, any existing models, a previous question must be decided. And to that question, which underlies all forms of municipal government, however diverse, this paper seeks an answer.

The principle of self-government is simple. It rests upon the conviction that adult persons of sound mind can best look after their own interests. Unquestionably, this is true of the individual and of the family. The young man or young woman who depends upon others will not only lose strength, but is very likely to lean upon a broken reed. In like manner, that family is best cared for whose members are on the constant look-out for its welfare. The reason for this is plain. The family possesses the greatest knowledge of its own needs and resources; it has both the power and disposition to give close attention to details; and it must bear the consequences, good or bad, of any action taken. It goes without saying that no outsider and no other family can be in possession of the same information regarding it or feel an equal interest in its welfare.

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What is so evident as to an individual or a family is also true of a community; and upon this hypothesis our American form of government was based. The result of a trial of more than a century and a quarter must convince the careful student of history that the theory is correct. Whenever and wherever the principle of self-government has been adhered to faithfully, it has vindicated the wisdom of its originators. Its most perfect application has been in the New England town-meeting, and that by common consent is pronounced an undoubted success. From time to time, a like excellence has been manifest in State and national affairs. Whenever the people have been thoroughly aroused, when our antiquated system of elections, so badly adapted to record the sentiments of the voters, has been coerced into some degree of obedience to the popular will—on these occasions self-government has been real. Such an awakening of the people of the North occurred when the Republican party, under the leadership of Lincoln, Sumner and Seward, came into power on the slavery issue. It has happened also at intervals in nearly every State and city; and, in each instance, corrupt politicians being relegated to the rear, public affairs have taken on a better aspect. Unfortunately, because of the time and skill required to manipulate successfully our election machinery, the rule of the people in such instances has proved to be but temporary.

It may be objected to the theory which advances self-government as the best means of obtaining good municipal administration, that cities are better governed abroad than in the United States. This is true; but in Great Britain, at least, it may be accounted for by two peculiar facts. One fact is, that the custom has long prevailed there, even under a system of elections but little superior to our own, of selecting and continuing in the city government men of great ability and high character, without regard to their partisan views. An opportunity to do this is afforded by another custom there prevailing, to wit: the retirement from a successful business career of men in the prime of life, ready, without pecuniary compensation, to give many years to the service of the public.

The other fact is, that the wisely drawn Municipal Corporations Act of Parliament leaves the fullest powers to the municipal council. Indeed, almost its only express directions relate to suffrage qualifications, manner of conducting elections, method of

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assessing taxes, conduct of charitable trusts, incurment of debt, and to the purchase of land and buildings. The council elects the board of aldermen, the mayor, the treasurer, the clerk, the auditors and such other officers, including heads of departments, as it deems necessary. It has complete control of police, streets, lighting, public buildings, water-works, local courts, sanitary regulations, ward boundaries; of education, when there is no school board, and of the enactment of ordinances.

Practically, therefore, the British city has a greater degree of self-government than the American city. And it may be added that the conditions above stated, which have there brought about a fuller self-government, do not exist in any one of the United States, and cannot be transplanted.

Notwithstanding the general acceptance in this country of the inherited theory that self-government is best, yet the control of cities through the instrumentality of State Boards is becoming year by year more common. Whenever a State official receives his pay from a municipal treasury, the principle of self-government is violated. If, in addition to his salary, other sums of money are taken by the State from the local treasury to be expended by the State official, deep injury is added to the insult. Moreover, when the voters of a city cannot, either directly or indirectly, select every individual who disburses the taxes they pay, misgovernment in that city cannot be laid at the door of its electors. The greater the power such State officials possess, and the more money such a board disburses, the less reason is there to attribute defects in local government to popular incompetence. Pre-eminently is this true where, as recently in Pennsylvania, the chief executive of a city is appointed by the State, or where, as in Maryland, Ohio, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, police commissions, and other important municipal boards, are appointed by and responsible to State authorities.

But, it may be said, most of our cities have been free from such interference with home rule, and yet not one of them has been well governed—not so well governed as some of the cities in which State Boards exist. That is all true. Neither the so-called Federal plan, nor, in fact, any kind of plan, has thus far proved satisfactory to the inhabitants of a city, or commended itself decidedly to outsiders.

One reason, and doubtless the chief reason, for the acknowledged

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imperfection of municipal government is that charters have been made for the people of a city, but not by them. This criticism holds, whether the charter is the product of special legislation, or is a general law for all the cities of the State. A ready-made charter imposed upon a city by an outside party, the State, is open to precisely the same objections, which everyone would perceive if the United States were to frame constitutions for Territories when these are admitted as States.

The only way in which a city can possess real self-government is by making and controlling its own charter. That is to say, its original charter, and any change subsequently made in it, must be adopted at the polls by the people of the city; and, more than that, the committee, or commission, or convention, which frames or revises the charter, must be a body of men as perfectly representative as possible of the electorate which is to live under the charter. These two simple but imperative demands of self-government have never been met. City charters, even when drawn up by local authorities, have either been fashioned by incompetents, or else have been compromises deemed necessary, though objectionable, by the misrepresentative committee which framed it.

In New England, when a town, because of increased population, becomes a city, the electors find many of their cherished rights taken away. Reference is here made not to the power previously exercised by the freemen of fixing the rate of taxation, and appropriating to various public purposes the taxes to be paid in, for these losses are expected and in a measure unavoidable; but, besides, they discover, and no doubt with surprise, that very many other limitations are imposed upon them without any option having been given them, except the general consent implied in the acceptance of the compromise charter when submitted to popular vote. The inhabitants of the new-made city soon find that they continue to be subject to substantially the same general State laws as before, but that, in addition, many of the charter provisions (to say nothing of a multitude of new ordinances restricting their former freedom of action) comprise details which are objectionable and prove to be unwise. In fact, the details of a city charter must be looked after by its authors rather than by the people: and, as is well known, selfish interests, partisan considerations, and improper compromises, too often determine the action of the persons who really draw up the charter.

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II.

A city charter is the city's constitution, a local organic law controlling all ordinances and acts of city officials. As such, it should be framed with like care and in the same manner as a State constitution. No outside body should have anything to do with its details, or with any part of it which is peculiar to that city. Indeed, all State laws relating to cities should be of general application and need not be numerous. Under such general laws, each city should have the power to determine all special features for itself. Among the few State requirements, it is essential to include careful directions for framing or revising the charter, and also for its amendment. Such provisions, indeed, should be included in every State constitution, for then, and then only, will they be at all permanent.

The selection of the men who are to draft a city charter should be provided for as in the following Constitutional Amendment:

"ARTICLE —— OF CITIES.

"SECTION 1. If at least one-fifteenth in number of the legal voters of any city, or of any town qualified to become a city, shall, sixty days previous to any general election of State officers, file with the Secretary of State a petition that the electors may, at such general election, cast their ballots for or against the question, "Shall this city (or town) hold a convention to frame a city charter?" the Secretary of State shall submit such question to the electors of said city, or town, at said general election, and, if then approved by a majority of the electors present and voting thereon, such convention shall assemble twenty-eight days after said election.

"Said Secretary of State at said election shall provide ballots for the election of fifteen delegates to constitute said convention. In such city, or town, any party, or other group of voters, numbering one per cent. of its qualified electors, may nominate not exceeding fifteen candidates for the office of delegate. The names of all candidates shall be placed upon the same ballot, but no elector shall be allowed to vote for more than one candidate. Each such party, or group of electors, shall be represented in said convention in the proportion which the whole number of votes cast for its candidates for delegate bears to the total number of votes cast for all candidates for delegate, and, whenever so represented, it shall be by such of its candidates as receive the highest number of votes. The charter framed by said convention shall be submitted to the qualified electors of such city for their adoption or rejection by majority vote. In no other way shall a charter be made or revised for any city."

A careful examination of the above suggested amendment to a State constitution shows that the convention provided for will

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be more perfectly representative of the electorate than any legislative body which ever met. With fifteen distinct and leading views having each its chosen representative, the convention will mirror the sentiments of the electors. Having a perfect freedom of choice, such as this amendment provides, the voters of any city ought certainly to succeed in selecting fifteen citizens well qualified to draw up a charter for their future government. Should the result be unsatisfactory, the alternative remains of defeating the proposed charter and trying to do better another year.

But when a charter, in the main satisfactory, has finally been secured, it may still be that in some details it does not meet with the approval of a majority of the voters; and, in any event, as time goes on, changes will be needed and demanded. It should be possible to make such specific changes without the trouble and expense of calling a convention, and yet without running the risk of having the charter either subjected to influences without the city, or mutilated by ill-considered action within.

To this end, a second section should be added to the constitutional article already proposed, as follows:

"SECTION 2. If at least one-tenth in number of the legal voters of any city shall, sixty days previous to any general election of its city officers, file with the city clerk a petition proposing a specific and particular amendment to the city charter, and asking that the electors may at said city election cast their ballots for or against such proposed amendment; every proposition so made shall be submitted by the city clerk to the electors at said election, and if then approved by a majority of the electors of said city present and voting thereon, it shall, thirty days thereafter, become a part of the city charter, and in no other way shall any city charter be amended."

It will be seen that such a constitutional provision would enable a majority in any city to make such changes in its charter as they saw fit, provided each subject was dealt with separately. Under this proviso, no complex propositions, which, while improving one phase of the charter, might injure another, could be used to confuse and perplex the people.

Assuming that, given suitable instrumentalities for shaping their wishes, the people of American cities are capable of self-government, it would seem that no objection from any unselfish source can be raised to either section of the article here formulated. Especially is this the case when we consider that no city

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in the United States, however cultivated its inhabitants, can be said to possess good government—a government satisfactory to the majority. Indeed, it may be questioned whether, under any existing charter, a city in which every voter was a college graduate would find itself well governed. The worst governed of our cities, the one possessing the most ignorant and least homogeneous population, ought to have good government under the proposed system, for the reason that, when the people of a community large enough to form a city subdivides voluntarily into fifteen natural classes, each of them, with scarcely an exception, will be found capable of selecting worthy leaders. This would be the case if the city were made up of fifteen nationalities, each speaking a different language. As the legal profession can best select a judge, the medical profession a health officer, a labor organization its leader, so any class in a community which, under free opportunity for choice, decides to act together politically will make a wise selection of its representative.

It is true that, under the plan proposed, the law-breaking class of a city, if they constituted one-fifteenth of the population, would have the power to elect one delegate; but the character of the citizens represented by that delegate would be known, and, however able he might be, as one of a convention of fifteen composed almost wholly of well-meaning men of no less ability, his influence in moulding a charter favorable to lawbreakers would be very small—indefinitely smaller than under the existing so-called majority system of elections, which frequently gives to lawbreakers the balance of power over numerous candidatures.

The plan here presented would give to the electors of a city complete and continuous control of their local government. It would enable them not only to devise a better charter than any now in existence, but also to correct speedily any evils developed by a practical experience of its workings.

The doctrine of self-government, and the method of its application which are here set forth, necessarily exclude all government of municipalities through State Commissions. The "Federal plan," no doubt, would be given a fair test, and out of that or some better system, would be evolved a good city government.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

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PROHIBITION—WHY?

BY SILAS C. SWALLOW, CANDIDATE OF THE PROHIBITION PARTY FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE use of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes has never benefited one human being, either physically, intellectually, morally or financially, in all the history of the world. But, on the other hand, it has injured, and even ruined, millions of human beings for time and eternity.

Therefore, the liquor traffic, sales in which in the United States last year amounted to over $1,400,000,000, has been and is a curse to the individual; to the family, and, especially, to that defenceless portion known as women and children; to labor, which it cripples; and to the taxpayers, who must pay for the support of the paupers, the criminals, and the insane it produces.

Hence, it is not true that, "if you let liquor alone, it won't hurt you." The innocent must suffer with the guilty. The abstaining taxpayer must pay his own taxes and, in addition thereto, the taxes which the drinker could have paid but for his indulgence.

The traffic is such an enemy to the church, and to the highest interests of the race as championed by the church, that Catholicism is organizing everywhere Total Abstinence Societies; and Protestantism, through several of its denominational utterances, has said that "no political party should receive the support of Christian men, so long as it fails to put itself on record in an attitude of open hostility to the liquor traffic." Both the Republican and the Democratic parties, having thus failed, men who vote for either thereby vote themselves as unchristian; since a man who does what he knows he ought not to do is not a Christian. Many Civic Societies have excluded liquor-sellers from eligibility to membership therein. Many liquor-sellers will

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employ only abstainers to handle their poison. Many life-insurance companies make a special premium for abstainers. Few employers will tolerate drinking habits in their employees. Eight hundred thousand of the 1,200,000 employees on American railways are under orders neither to drink intoxicants nor enter the places where intoxicants are sold, on penalty of dismissal from service.

The Supreme Court of the United States, on December 5th, 1887, declared that: "It is within the discretionary police powers of a State to protect public health, safety, and morals, even by the destruction of property; and that the Kansas laws, providing for the destruction of property used in connection with liquor-selling, do not violate the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution against the destruction of property." That was equivalent to saying that the machinery and wares of the liquor-seller are not property. Again, the Supreme Court said: "No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves cannot do it, much less their servants."

And yet the United States Government in 1862 entered into, and has ever since continued, a copartnership with the liquor traffic, sharing its profits as revenue, and protecting its interests; since taxation always implies protection to the man and to the property taxed. The Government's share of the blood-money is less than two hundred millions. For every dollar of revenue, it costs the Government over sixteen dollars to care for the results of the business, as found in asylums, almshouses and criminal courts. The National Government overrides State prohibitory laws, sending its poison into prohibition States, and there legalizing its sale in violation of State laws.

It is estimated that three-fourths of our eighty millions of people are total abstainers. The one-fourth drink an average of seventy dollars' worth of liquor annually. A family of six persons would thus consume four hundred and twenty dollars' worth, if all drank, or enough to pay for a very comfortable home every two years. Of the twenty millions who drink, one-half are practically homeless. They live principally in the slums of our cities and towns. They constitute the dangerous classes.

The politicians, from President down, in some instances knowingly, or in wilful ignorance, depend largely on the buying of

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this slum vote to carry the elections. The party managers claim that it required over six millions of dollars to elect Mr. McKinley. Much of this money was spent in corrupting the ballot. M. S. Quay, who managed the Harrison campaign, said: "As goes New York State, so goes the Union. As goes New York city, so goes the State; as goes one ward, so goes the city. Hurry on your money." And the money rolled in almost as freely as water; certainly as freely as whiskey. The ward was carried, so was the city, the State, the nation. It has come to be understood that no political party which antagonizes the rum vote can elect its candidates. The 250,000 liquor-sellers vote solidly for the man they want. They know neither morals nor politics, but only business. Each dealer is supposed to control ten votes. Thus two and a half millions of votes go with the party that is likely to do most for their business, or, at least, that will promise most.

The church vote of five millions, on the other hand, divides on the question of the tariff, even at a time when the difference in the revenue between a Republican tariff bill and one presented by the Democrats was less than fifty millions, while the direct cost for liquor that very year was twenty-five times that amount. The church vote, therefore, practically joins with that of the crime-makers, to fill jails, asylums, almshouses and penitentiaries, and at the same time to deplete the churches. The members of the churches do so under the stress of party spirit, for the purpose of keeping in line with the strong parties, which are greatly in the majority as compared with the prohibition partisan forces, and ostensibly for "saving the country," just this once more, from the great calamity of having the other party candidates elected.

When it is said that "Prohibition don't prohibit," it is meant that prohibition don't annihilate.

This is true of the prohibitions of arson, larceny, murder and all the other crimes in the catalogue, and yet no one clamors for the repeal of the laws against them on the ground, forsooth, that "Prohibition don't prohibit."

When we remember that the national Drink Bill last year was more than twice as much as the capital stock of all the National Banks; that it was more than half as much as the amount of deposits in all our savings-banks; that it was one-third more than our entire public debt; that it was one-half as much as the

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value of all our domestic animals; that it was more than half of the value of all our farm products; that it was little less than the capitalization of all the industrial combinations, including the much-complained-of trusts, as they existed in 1900; that it was a third more than our total imports of merchandise, and a twelfth more than all of our exports; and then when we remember that the people who consumed this liquid poison would have been infinitely better off if they had made a big bonfire of their money, instead of purchasing with it a substance hurtful to all the interests of the individual, the family, the community, the State and the nation, we have reason to lament our folly, and wonder whether it will ever end.

Just now many thousands of laborers are on strike for more remunerative wages, in order that they may have the "full dinner-pail" promised four years ago, but which in too many instances is nearly empty, because of the excessive cost of living, growing out of the cornering of the necessaries of life by unscrupulous worshippers of Mammon. On the other hand, many employers of labor are suspending their employees, on the plea that there has been an overproduction, and that we must wait till the stock is reduced as the result of the buyers catching up with the producers. The real reason for this distress among workmen, in the midst of plenty, is not overproduction, but underconsumption.

Instead of spending over fourteen hundred millions of dollars for liquid poison, if this enormous sum had been spent in the purchase of shoes for the millions of bare feet; for hats with which to cover hitherto hatless heads; for cotton and woollen goods to take the place of the rags and tatters in which the denizens of the slums are everywhere arrayed; for carpets to cover the bare floors of the tenement districts; for tables, and chairs, and stoves, and bedding, and food, all of which would have so greatly ministered to the physical comfort, the intellectual growth, and the spiritual uplift of the submerged classes; every factory would now be running on full time, new factories would be in process of building; railroads would be stretching out their iron arms to communities hitherto unfamiliar with the music of the locomotive's whistle; and such an era of prosperity would be dawning upon this land as the world never dreamed of before.

We are in the midst of a conflict, as irrepressible as was that

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concerning slavery forty-five years ago, when the Greeleys and Garrisons, the Gerrit Smiths, the Phillipses, the Sumners and the Sewards raised the battle-cry that "this country could not remain half-free and half-slave." The conviction is growing rapidly upon the American people that this country cannot long remain half drunk and half sober. That the profit-sharing partnership existing between the Government and the liquor business must soon be dissolved; or, that there will come to us as a nation such punishment, in the form of national reverses, as history shows has come to all the nations who have put upon their coin "In God we trust" while they study to do the work of the devil.

In conclusion, let me say, in the language of another, that there is honor enough in American Citizenship to warrant the appeal now being made to it by the Prohibition Party. The same hands that made the traffic secure through the ballot will yet, by the same process, rob it of its defence. Trembling before the thunders of a righteous wrath, it will flee for shelter, and there shall none be found. But, unmourned and unpitied, like a hunted beast brought to earth at last, it will shrink and shrivel, and die before the blasting power of an awakened national conscience.

SILAS C. SWALLOW.

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MASCULINE AND FEMININE OCCUPATIONS.

BY MARION FOSTER WASHBURNE.

THE industrial expansion of women which has marked the last quarter-century has been accomplished in the face of an opposition by no means yet at an end. Every now and then reactions have set in, and, on the whole, these have been salutary in their effect. Such a reaction prevails at the present moment, affording the wary a welcome pause for reflection.

There are ample grounds for opposition. For one thing, the cry grows louder that men are being crowded out by women. Office forces are now almost wholly composed of women. There are not only many more women teachers in the public schools—the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1889 gives the per cent. as 68.3, and that ratio has almost certainly increased—but the number of girls in the higher grades and in the High Schools is steadily greater than that of the boys. This means, of course, that there are more women than men who are receiving the training necessary for the better-paid business positions—not the best paid, but the middle places. In fact, I think it could be shown that, outside of the lowest places, those requiring the greatest amount of physical strength and the least amount of brains, and of the highest places, those involving executive ability of a high order and bringing in the greatest rewards, women are occupying the fields of labor with a rapidity well calculated to carry dismay to a conservative mind.

This brings about, of course, a disorganization of industries hitherto planned to meet masculine exigencies alone. Women, it must be admitted, do introduce a disturbing element. For one thing, the sex-ferment is uncomfortable in business places. It may, to be sure, and probably does, break the monotony of the long day's work; but it also interferes considerably with the

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smooth running of the commercial machine. For another thing, women are frequently not able to support the long, relentless hours of work required by modern industrial routine. In our large office-buildings, rest rooms for women have become a necessity; and I agree with Mrs. Thompson that the sofas in these rooms are seldom without their burden of pale, exhausted women. It looks all wrong. One's instinct is to ask where their fathers and brothers are, or alas! their husbands. When one learns that the men of the family are out of work, or work only part of the time, or get too low wages to support their families, one is inclined to wonder whether the old way was not the best; and whether these poor things would not be better off at home cooking or sewing, while the men folks toiled in the hard ways of the world.

And this brings us to another difficulty: the vexed question of wages. One instance will illustrate the effect of the employment of women in the lowering of wages. We have already seen what the percentage of women teachers is; these women receive on an average $38 14 a month, while the men receive $45 25. It is plain that women are willing to work for less than men, and that, as long as they are, more of them will be employed, wherever possible; and the pay of men will have to be lowered to meet their competition. Is it not clear that if there were a law forbidding the employment of women teachers, there would be an increase in the number of men employed and in the salaries paid to them?

Besides these valid objections, there is the complaint that women are less skilful workmen than men; that they work in the expectation of marriage and therefore half-heartedly; that they are seldom well trained, because this same expectation makes them impatient of long apprenticeship; that they have no business faculty; that they lack system; that they are too personal and too emotional. At this point the objectors, even if they be men, begin to get a little emotional themselves. They point with pain, almost with tears, to the unsexing influence which business pursuits have upon the woman herself. Either, they say, the woman twists the definite, manly business system to suit her exigencies—a thing not to be tolerated for a moment,—or she is herself warped to meet the situation. She is either unfeminized or broken on the wheel; and what decent man wants her to be either?

Moreover, while woman is upsetting business at this rate, what is becoming of the home? We are invited to consider the woful

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increase of flat-buildings, apartment hotels, boarding-houses, childless homes, and divorce. In an appreciable number of cases, married women have been known to prefer working in a store to doing their own housework. Young women may be found by the scores in offices who cannot darn their own stockings nor wear a thimble with more grace than a man. They may be able to make fudges over a gas-jet, but not to make bread. They know nothing to speak of about children, nor do they want to know, any more than their brothers. In very truth, what sort of wives will these young things make? And if they are not, after all, extraordinarily efficient as business women, it does seem as if they had reached a point in their development where they are equal to the demands neither of the old ideal, nor of the new.

Having thus, I hope, done justice to those who oppose woman's industrial expansion, let us see what the women have to say for themselves. Since a business life is so hard on them, since it seems to go against what is commonly supposed to be the strongest instinct a woman has—namely, the instinct for maternity—powerful motives must be at work to force so steady a movement out of old conditions into new. To assign cheap reasons for anything happening on so large a scale, and involving such serious consequences, is not the part of wisdom. For if a certain movement is seen to be steadily progressing, meeting obstacles now and then, but never materially checked, an astute observer will give over remonstrance and go to investigating the cause.

The most obvious cause for the phenomenon we are here considering is the fact that women want financial independence. They want, indeed, as complete independence as their comparatively infirm bodies will permit. Instead of weakening this desire, natural to all human beings and increasing with every step of advance in civilization, their physical peculiarities intensify it. They see that, if they have not money enough to live on in their own way, they are virtually slaves, compelled to live, not as they would like to live, but as some one who can support them would like to have them live. Without such independence, their very virtues cease to be virtues and become mere bids for favor.

The desire persists in spite of the deepening recognition that women who take care of the house, bear and train the children, and perform the other duties incidental to wifehood and motherhood, in reality earn their own living, and more too. But their share of

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the family income is still called "allowance," if, indeed, it is definite enough to have a name at all. And the independence of the most satisfactorily married woman is less than that of the unmarried woman in receipt of a salary. I remember being present once at a meeting of women—it was a suffrage meeting—when money was called for. Most of those present had come in their carriages; all wore good clothes and the fingers of some of them, as they fished in their lean purses, glittered with diamonds, but none of them had more than a very little money. The fact finally came to open speech, and the women explained that, while they had credit at the first-class stores, they had almost no actual cash: that was one of the things that made them interested in suffrage. They thought that, if women were recognized as the political equals of men, they might come, by and by, to be recognized as their economic equals.

These were married women for the most part, and women of position. The situation is more tense with the unmarried ones. For, whatever men may think in general about women in industrialism, the change has now progressed to that point where, if a woman is not married by the time she is, say, twenty-five, her male relatives feel that she ought to be looking out for something to do. The man who, on a small salary, cheerfully supports his own or his wife's adult, able-bodied, unmarried female relatives is an exception. If he has one thrown on his hands, in all probability he does his best to get some work for her, at anything respectable she is able to do; and then, when she is comfortably disposed of, he talks about the harm women are doing by taking positions that, otherwise, men might occupy.

And what about the unmarried woman's own position? Would she not be unworthy our respect and her own if, being able to earn her living, she declined to do it, using her sex as an apology for habitual pauperism? In the ranks below the middle this has long been settled; the working-woman is expected to work as much as the working-man. In the middle ranks, it is becoming settled, though still it ferments. In the top ranks, it is far from settled. In all of them women prize their financial independence, and are willing to pay for it the high price of health and comfort.

Even on the supposition that the special duty of women, the duty of bearing children, must necessarily come before any other, because upon it rests the welfare, the very existence of the race,

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there still remains something to be said for the women who are forced to recognize other duties and obligations. We have spoken of unmarried women; these are a considerable and by no means insignificant army; but there are also the childless women, to whom has been denied the right to perform the paramount duty, and who must consequently find for themselves some secondary duty, or confess themselves useless; and there are—a large and piteous class—the women with children to support and no man to support them, the widows and the worse than widowed. What is to become of all these human beings? Are they to be foisted on some competent and tyrannical mother-in-law, to be ruled, as in China, while some man earns food and clothing for them all? Wages would indeed have to be raised considerably to enable him to do it! And, dear me, where would be the peace of his home?

Great as is the force of this cumulative desire for freedom on the part of women, a desire strengthened by indulgence, it is reinforced by quite another desire, springing from even greater depths—the desire for a fuller, larger womanhood. No one can know women at all well, can attend their clubs, read their literature, see them in their homes, and not know that the best and most enlightened of them feel themselves to-day narrowed and starved, unequal to the demands made upon them by a rapidly advancing civilization. They confess themselves inadequate wives and mothers. They chide themselves bitterly for the hitches in the running of the domestic machinery, although these hitches are, very likely, not due to any personal shortcomings. For instance, it is reported that for every forty thousand emigrant servants landed at Castle Garden, over one hundred thousand situations are waiting: a fact that makes it plain that even a conscientious and competent mistress may not be able to get or keep good servants. And this adds another straw to the burden of domestic responsibility, and sharpens the consciousness of inadequacy. No one can long endure the suspicion of failure in one direction, without trying whether, in some other, he cannot prove himself a success. Nor can one discover that all alone one cannot make one's home what it should be, without going abroad for sympathy and for help.

Yet another factor is adding its weight to the steady pressure that, against all fears, is forcing women into industrialism. The more competent a woman is, the more time she has to give to large

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affairs outside of the home, and the more she desires to give it. Suppose, for instance, that she has given twenty years to education, twenty more to child-bearing and rearing, there are still twenty good years at her disposal, twenty full, ripe years, rich with experience, years during which, if she has been wise in her care of herself, she is stronger and better able to work than she ever was before in her life. What is such a woman to do? Sit down and fold her hands, retire from her brimming life, while yet she is in the full tide of it? Has the world no need of her disciplined forces, her knowledge, her ability, her self-control, her tested power of endurance? It is evident enough that nothing of this sort can be. Working forces, whatever they may be, whether in the form of a woman, or otherwise, seek and find a place for themselves, and in the end accomplish their appointed tasks.

What, then, since there are such difficulties on both sides of this vexed controversy, is the appointed work for women? This is the question we are, all of us, trying to solve. We are doing a lot of pushing and hauling about it, a good deal of protesting, and it all seems to be quite useless. There are good arguments on both sides, and things go right along regardless, anyhow. We might sit here in the corner and reflect awhile, not at all expecting to settle anything, but rather to comfort our disquieted souls.

Well, then, I have a guess to hazard: I guess that all occupations have their masculine and feminine sides; that nothing whatever is exclusively masculine or exclusively feminine, but that every occupation, every pleasure, every form of human activity has that about it which is specially fitted for man's nature, and that which is specially fitted for woman's nature; and that in reality no activity can be at its very best until it is carried on by both sexes.

It seems reasonable that there should be every kind of work for both men and women, when we reflect that women are of the same race as men, and therefore likely to be influenced by much the same desires, and to be able to satisfy them in much the same way? We confuse the issue when we make use of arguments based on the assumption that men and women are as distinct from each other as if they belonged to different races; the truth is that they are much more alike than they are different. We are led to make the assumption by means of a curious confusion of thought. In the first place, we are surprised at the differences which show

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themselves, because they are contrasted against a background of fundamental similarities. The background, being that of our own habitual consciousness, does not intrude itself upon our attention; the differences outlined against it do. Hence we notice the differences sharply, exaggerate their importance, and arrive at the conclusion that they are greater than the resemblances!

Of course, we really know, when we stop to think about it, that women are human beings much more markedly than they are female beings; and that, therefore, we must provide for their human wants first, and for their sex wants second. Their first obligation is not to the race, but to themselves, just as self-preservation precedes and outranks in importance race preservation. This is because race preservation, among the higher creatures, is not at the expense of the individual, but by means of the individual.

Let me illustrate what I mean by a homely parallel. Close beside me, as I write, are two fox-terriers, Bob and Beth. The difference between their characters is perfectly apparent to any one who knows them. Bob is more sedate, stronger, more obedient; he is an indomitable fighter; has great endurance; and tolerates Beth's playfulness with a superb masculine disdain. She is silkier, slenderer, with livelier ways, and a much greater fondness for caresses. She has no inclination whatever to obedience. When she is called peremptorily—in any tone, in fact, that does not smack of dinner—instead of coming, as Bob does, she rolls over on her back and holds up appealing paws. She is the more excitable watch-dog, jerking out, on the slightest token of an alien presence, a sharp yappy bark vibrant with nerves. But anybody who should argue from these differences that she was of a different race from Bob, ought to see the two running down the fields together, their white, short-haired bodies, with the round black spots on the hind haunches, bounding over the ground with the same undulating spring, their dark ears flopping, their stumpy tails stiffly upright, the white part down the centre of their noses of the very same width. He would be put to it to tell which was which, and could never, under normal circumstances, suppose one to be a dog and the other a donkey.

I think it could be successfully maintained—but I do not want to attempt it now—that women are not only as human as men, but that the sex difference is slighter than the differences between persons of different nationalities. In our own country, for in-

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stance, I think that the average American man would feel himself more akin to an American woman than to a colored man or an Indian. He might possibly find more in common between him and, say, his wife or his mother, or even his sister, than between him and a Russian or a Turk, although these latter were of his own sex.

If this is so we should expect to find it as justifiable to portion out industries according to nations as according to sex. And, indeed, it is quite true that some such apportionment does spontaneously take place. But we do not therefore think it necessary to restrict nations to those industries for which they show the most aptitude. Because England excels in manufactures, we do not think of chiding her for indulging mildly in agriculture. Nor because Russia is largely an agricultural nation do we object to her doing what manufacturing she pleases. In national affairs, we realize that such forbidding would be as preposterous as futile. But when the question of woman in industry comes up, we abandon this cool-headed, sensible attitude, and maintain with heat that, on the one hand, the sex differences are so great as to unfit her for certain large branches of industry, and that, on the other, they are so slightly rooted that, unless protected, they will disappear!

Furthermore, the entire contention that woman's work is in the home, and man's outside of the home, rests upon the assumption that we know what belongs to woman and what belongs to man. We have, each of us, a lovely little theory about what constitutes manliness and what womanliness, and this opinion we are ready to enforce at the point of—well, public opinion. Since we plainly do not know, why not experiment? The success that has followed such procedures in other fields might lead us to hope for some results if we should decide to make right conditions, furnish a nutrient jelly, and let the masculine and feminine bacteria develop in freedom.

Nor would such a procedure be very unsafe. Nobody can possibly believe that men and women, alone of all created beings, have a perverse tendency to act counter to the laws of their own existence. Therefore, only by setting them free to act as they please and watching them do it, can we form any reliable judgment as to what those laws really are.

We may find that men are more womanly, and women more manly, and both more human, and every individual more diverse,

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than we had supposed. Or we may find that there are, indeed, well-defined lines of separation, but that these are more interlinked than we have supposed—that which is masculine on the plane of physical force being feminine on the intellectual planes; or something of that sort. It is, as the scientists say, too early in the proposed investigation to predict results with any degree of certainty. It is much too early to lay down laws of limitation.

But are we wholly confined to such antecedent probabilities as these? Are there no arguments to be had from example?

A hundred of them, a thousand, dear reader! Throughout the countless ages of the past, women used to do all the things we now think she ought not to do; and she has managed, somehow, to retain her womanliness. Many of the industries now claimed as masculine were originally feminine. Who was it that originally did all the spinning and weaving, which is now done by the big factories? Who did all the dyeing, embroidering, bleaching, sewing—all the things, in short, that go to transform fibres into wearable fabrics? Who used to feed the traveller? Who prepared all the food? Who even tilled the fields, and cared for the crops?

But these occupations, you protest, are still recognized as belonging to women—perhaps not spinning and weaving, and tilling the fields, but certainly sewing and cooking. Softly, softly! These things are now only recognized as hers within certain narrow limits. We will consider those limits presently. Meanwhile, let me ask you, if you take away from modern industrial life all activities relating to the preparation of food and clothing, have you not taken out an enormous slice? The packing-houses, the refrigerator-cars, the canning-factories; the grist-mills, the grain elevators; the reapers and binders; the factories in which these are made; the railroads which transport them; the ships, the barns, the warehouses; the herds of cattle, droves of pigs, flocks of sheep; the poultry-yards; egg-case factories; ice-warehouses; the woollen-mills, silk, cotton, and linen mills; cotton-fields, cotton-gins, mulberry-groves, flax-fields, dye-houses, schools of design, looms; tanneries, shoe-factories, knitting-factories, wholesale and retail stores—oh, the list is too long for Walt Whitman! These activities belong to those industries which were originally woman's, and which did not at all prevent her from being a woman.

Conditions have changed—true; but they have changed for the better. It is easier to plough a field with a modern steam-plough, or

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even a horse-plough, than it is by hand and pushing power of body, yet women used to do it in that hard way—in some countries they do it yet, hitched up with a dog for yoke-fellow. It is easier to run a steam-loom than to throw the shuttle by hand and swing the treadles by thrust of foot. Yet women used to do it in the harder way. It is easier to do all these things than it used to be, and yet women are no longer thought fit for the work. Why? Nothing seems to have altered unless it is the size of the operations.

That this is the true ground for the distinction that is now sought to be made, a few instances will show. When tailoring was done on a small scale, in a little shop, there were many women tailors: as soon as it became a recognized business, well organized and lucrative, women tailors were crowded out. Wholesale milliners are mostly men; retail milliners, women. Women knit stockings by hand and tend the knitting-machines; but men own and administer the knitting factories. Garment-making is now a vast, for the most part badly organized, industry. Women and men side by side run the machines and do the work; but men own the big factories and sustain the sweating system. The dressmaking division of it is in a transition stage, and changes may now be seen taking place. The dressmaker who goes out by the day is not yet an extinct species, and there are "Madames" who command high prices and have well-attended parlors. But the making of cloaks and suits to order, and selling them ready-made, is an industry that pays well, that is growing rapidly, and that is almost entirely, except as to the details of manufacture, in the hands of men.

It may possibly be that women have a special aptitude for cherishing the beginnings of things—a sort of industrial motherhood; and this, rather than man's tendency to grab a good thing for himself as soon as he sees it is good, may be the explanation of the above facts.

We are trying to be fair; but it bothers us to remember, just here, the undue importance attached to the comparative measurements of the brains of men and women. The average brain of women, it is said, is below the average brain of men as to size. The conclusion drawn is that women, with their little brains, ought to be content with the little jobs. But we suggest that this conclusion is at once too sweeping and too partial. A fairer rule would be that every woman with a head, say, twenty-two inches in

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circumference, should be admitted to a full share in all public and economic affairs, and that all men with a smaller head should be debarred from large enterprises, and not allowed to vote.

Nor would it be a bit more absurd to do so, than to insist upon choosing workers by sex instead of by individual fitness. When we are not talking generalities we see this. We are able to perceive, for instance, that when we want a good dinner cooked to order, it is not wise to demand that it should be cooked by a woman—just any woman, so long as she is a woman,—while a French *chef* offers his manly services in vain. Or, being desirous of buying a piece of property, it is not likely that any of us would refuse to buy one that suited him in all other particulars, just because the owner was a woman, and, being a woman, unfitted, in his opinion, to transact large and important business.

Thus do we progress in practice beyond the limits of our narrow theory. And, in truth, in the matter of industrial division we have progressed far beyond our theories. That which we deprecate is already taking place, to a much greater degree than we recognize. And I think it is developing as we might suppose it would if the guess recorded above was correct. Many industries already show their dual nature. Some of them belong plainly to both sexes; some of them divide into two halves, a masculine and a feminine. For a conspicuous instance, we have the medical profession. Not only are there women doctors, with their special field of operation, but we have the twin—or, rather, the espoused—profession of trained nursing. The ministerial profession is reinforced by that of Sunday-school teaching, in which women predominate. The army, that most exclusively masculine of all organizations, now has its Red Cross, and even the Grand Army of the Republic has its Woman's Relief Corps. In the profession of teaching, there is still debate about the advisability of putting women into positions requiring much executive power; but there is no debate about the fitness of women for kindergarten and primary work. All modern penitentiaries have their women officers, many jails their police matrons, all reforms their women officers and active workers. Public institutions in which women are confined—asylums, poor-houses and hospitals—are officered by women as well as men, and the functions are well differentiated. No cosmopolitan journal can get along without its staff of women writers, whose work, while it sometimes overlaps that of the men,

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is for the most part of quite another character. Women occupy all the fields of art; and, while in those fields their work is not so *different from that of men as to justify a clear division-line*, certainly not so different as to justify the division into inferior and superior, which is often rashly attempted, yet it is subtly different. One might say that it was broadly human, and delicately feminine. When our experiment has reached a more advanced stage, who shall say what interestingly complex divisions may not make their appearance? What Matthew Arnold calls "the stream of tendency" is not yet wholly evident, the lines of force are not yet well defined; still we catch glimpses of an intricate pattern taking shape before us which puts to the blush our childish attempts to make up patterns for ourselves.

Our argument is further reinforced by the observation that, while women have been invading the fields of labor outside of the home, men have been invading the fields heretofore sacred to the women of the house. To this no one, least of all, any woman, is raising the least objection. We are cheerfully ready to acknowledge—sometimes even inclined to urge—that the home is at this moment languishing for want of masculine interest in its various problems. To be sure, men now run our laundries, cook our breakfast cereals, bring our groceries to the door, bake our bread wholesale, dress our meats, grind our grains, paper our walls, paint our woodwork, do our house-cleaning and sweeping by means of compressed air, run our furnaces, supply us with electricity, fetch water to our doors, and make themselves pretty useful generally. But we want more. We want them to take up the problem of dish-washing, and come into council with us on the servant-girl question. And, recognizing, as we do from our hearts, that we cannot carry on the house and the family all alone, although it is supposed to be our peculiar sphere, it naturally occurs to us that what is usually supposed to be man's peculiar sphere may likewise be suffering for lack of us.

As for childless homes, are they really the fault of women in business? It seems to me that I have heard of men who did not like large families; did not want their wives preoccupied and anxious about the children; did not want to have so many mouths to fill, so many persons to support. It is possible that homes may be found here and there where the wives are not engaged in any business, not even the business of housekeeping, and where yet

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there are no children. I know of other homes wherein the women are happy and busy, earning money for themselves and others, where there are self-reliant, unexacting children who like the arrangement. The truth is, this question depends upon other things than the employment or non-employment of women.

To be sure, the woman of the olden times who was shut up to the strictly domestic life of the harem, her only road to honor and consideration lying through the bearing of male children, desired children more intensely than women do now, being ready to run the risk of having several girls on the bare chance of having a single boy. But that was an artificial heightening and perverting of the instinct of maternity. It is an outworn method, and will not work to-day. The modern woman distinctly refuses to be driven into child-bearing by any weapon whatever. This question she claims the right to settle for herself. If she is going to be a heroine and face death to bring forth life, she righteously demands that she shall do so in freedom; that she shall be allowed the strength and uplift of doing it, consciously, from the highest motives. To bear children under threat would deprive women of the dignity and honor of their high office, and deprive the children themselves of a right beginning. Whether the force exerted to move them from this position be economical, or whether it consist in a simple narrowing of life to that one issue, it is nevertheless compulsion, and, in the opinion of every woman, violation.

There is a similar answer to be made to the charge that divorce is more frequent in proportion as women gain financial independence. It has been pointed out more than once, and I need not dwell upon it here, that the higher the ideal of marriage the less a woman desires to enter upon it, or to remain in it, for financial reasons. Divorces are actually precipitated by the bitterness with which a high-spirited woman resents her economic dependence upon a man whom, perhaps, she no longer loves, or who no longer loves her, or, indeed, upon a man whom she loves too well to be willing to burden. One may well ask whether a divorce got because a woman refused longer to endure a loveless or ill-assorted marriage, was not more righteous than such a marriage endured for the sake of the money it afforded.

All these things go to show that, instead of the business world suffering from the advent of women, it is the home that is suffering from the age-long defection of men. If it is true that

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every occupation has its masculine side and its feminine side, then it is true of the domestic occupations as well as of those belonging to the world of business; and it is evident that the home will suffer from an undue predominance of one element over the other. That our homes are not running smoothly, that flats and boarding-houses multiply, and divorces, and nervous prostrations, instead of proving that women ought to stay at home and set things right, may well mean that women need the fresher aid and wider spaces of the business world, the relief of doing things on a big scale, the calming effect of working impersonally. Business hours may be—and I think are—unnecessarily hard for a woman, but at home she has no hours at all. Her work, as the old saw has it, is "never done." I met a young woman recently who said that she had never known good health until she went to work in a down-town office, and was obliged to keep regular hours. And if, in addition to the training in regularity and method which a business career gives a woman, and the freedom which her own income gives her, is added the influence which an active interest in his own home gives a man, we may hope for better homes, less full of fussy details, better ordered, reflecting on a small scale that flexibility and at the same time definiteness of organization which characterize modern industrial concerns. We shall not only have wives and mothers in these homes, but husbands and fathers.

If there is any human occupation which obviously has its masculine and feminine side, it is this business of making homes and rearing children. A woman can make a good imitation home all alone—better than a man can; but she cannot make a real one, and no one knows it better than she does. Nor can she do it with only her husband's money to help her: she needs himself—his love, his special form of thought, his interest, and his presence. Nor can any children be brought up as they should be by only a mother, despite the panegyrics which have spurred her on to almost superhuman efforts.

Some day, let us hope, this struggling and sentimental old world will have arrived at an equilibrium of justice between the sexes; will have discovered, for one thing, the glories of fatherhood; will have linked the little place of rest and shelter and beginnings which we call "the home" with the big world of men and women, which is, after all, only the home of the adult, industrious human spirit.

MARION FOSTER WASHBURNE.

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THE REFORM OF THE CALENDAR.

BY CHARLES HARVEY GENUNG.

"The heavens, in growing old, bow themselves down nearer to us, and put us to an uncertainty even of days and months."

MONTAIGNE.

THE period of eight years which elapsed between the 29th day of February, 1896, and the 29th of February, 1904, occupies a peculiar position in the history of our calendar. Although upon reflection all of us will recall the fact, to many of us it will come somewhat with the shock of a surprise to learn, that this eight-year interval without an intercalary day has occurred only once before in England, and only twice before in the history of the world, and that it will not occur again for nearly two hundred years. It is, therefore, appropriate at this time to make a brief review of the struggle of almost four centuries which culminated in the reform of the calendar under Gregory XIII.

The controversy concerning the computation of Easter, which from the middle of the second century had filled the church with strife, reached an official decision at the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325. Easter was to be the first Sunday following the first full moon after the vernal equinox, which in the year of the Council happened to fall on March 21st. When the Julian calendar was established in B.C. 46, the vernal equinox had fallen upon March 25th. Had the Nicene fathers learned the lesson of this recession of the equinox, they might have avoided one element of confusion; instead of that, they added another by adopting the Alexandrine lunar cycle of nineteen years, and upon these decrees the miraculous filling of the baptismal font set the seal of divine approval. When Julius Cæsar put an end to the confusions of the Roman calendar, he computed the mean length

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of the tropical year at 365 days and six hours; he provided for this quadrennial surplusage of twenty-four hours by counting the sixth Calends of March (February 24th) twice in every fourth or "bissextile" year. But the mean length of the tropical year is 365 days, five hours, forty-eight minutes and forty-six seconds. The average annual error, therefore, of the Julian calendar was eleven minutes and fourteen seconds. Thus in every 128 years the error amounted to twenty-four hours, and caused the vernal equinox to fall one day earlier than the Nicene fathers had decreed. This was the solar error. Furthermore, the lunar cycle of nineteen years contained, according to the Julian reckoning, 6,939 days and eighteen hours, whereas the 235 synod months which constituted the lunar cycle actually contained 6,939 days and only sixteen hours, thirty-one minutes and forty-eight seconds. This discrepancy, amounting in 310 years to twenty-four hours, brought the new moon into the sky one day earlier than the golden number required. This was the lunar error. And as the centuries continued to roll up the seconds and the minutes into days, the people became puzzled, the clergy began to make excuses, and the astronomers at last demanded a reform.

The lesser error was naturally noticed first. Although it required 310 years for the lunar error to make the difference of one day, while the solar error in the same period amounted to nearly two days and a half, yet the date of the equinox is not obvious to the people generally, whereas the appearance of the new moon by so much as one day too soon could not fail to attract universal attention. Gregory of Tours had commented upon this phenomenon; but remembering the baptismal font at Nicæa,

"This ilke monk leet olde thinges pace,"

confident that, in God's good time, the heavenly bodies would readjust themselves to the Nicene decrees. The Venerable Bede, observing that the new moon due on April 4th had prematurely appeared on April 2nd, likewise took refuge in the baptismal font; and Alcuin answered a troubled inquiry from Charlemagne in a similar strain. But Master Conrad, writing about the year 1200, when the lunar error had reached nearly three days, was not content to beg the question; he explained it. The sun, moon and stars, he said, God made on the fourth day, but Adam

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was not created until the sixth; the moon was three days old when Adam saw it first, and he naturally assumed that what he saw was the new moon,—it was certainly new to him,—and in this pardonable misapprehension it was proper that his descendants should piously follow him.

The first important step in the direction of reform must be credited to the Scotch monk, Halifax, or Sacro Bosco, who in 1232 wrote a compendium of chronology, based upon the standard work of Bede. This compendium is noteworthy in two particulars: The ecclesiastical computation was, for the first time, subjected to an empirical test; and, for the first time, a modification of the Julian calendar was proposed and advocated. This was exactly 350 years before the promulgation of the Gregorian reform. Halifax corrected the Julian year by five minutes, thus rendering necessary the excision of one day in precisely 288 years. This is very close to the 300 year period of the Ptolemaic tables. He noticed also the lunar error; but, checked by his reverence for the Nicene Council, he admonished his readers to tolerate the faulty cycle of the golden number. He did not allude to its disastrous consequences in the Easter computation. These were first pointed out by Johannes Campanus, the chaplain of Urban IV., in his "*Computus Major.*" It is evident that even a slight error in the determination, either of the vernal equinox, or of the full moon thereafter, might make a maximum difference of five weeks in the date of Easter. In 1356 it did so. This possibility Campanus correctly demonstrated, and in so doing he touched the vital point of the reform, around which the fires of theological hatred raged for three centuries, till all Europe was divided into two hostile camps, each reckoning time by different days, and engaging in bloody encounters with reference to the resurrection of the Prince of Peace.

In the course of the thirteenth century, a knowledge of Arabian science began to spread through Europe. Campanus cited Albategni, who fixed the amount of the solar error at one day in one hundred years; he also advocated the thirty-year lunar cycle, which was likewise derived from the Arabs. From Roger Bacon, however, came the first emphatic protest against the confusion into which the calendar had been allowed to fall, and the boldness of his tone derives additional significance from the fact that his protest was addressed to Clement IV. He insisted upon

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a modification of the Julian calendar; advocated the Arabian thirty-year lunar cycle; and came very near the truth by calculating the solar error at one day in one hundred and twenty-five years. He pointed out that in 1267 Easter was celebrated one week too late; and it pained him to reflect that, though fasting throughout the week of rejoicing, all Christendom had partaken of meat during Holy Week. He showed that Leo I. and Hilarius had raised objections to the Nicene rule, which was, therefore, regarded not even by the Popes themselves as an article of faith; he concluded with an ardent appeal to Clement to inaugurate "one of the greatest and most splendid reforms ever wrought in the church of Christ!"

This was the age of Dante. It was to be expected that the poet, who seems to have overlooked no fact or phase of his time, would make some allusion to the faulty calendar. In "Paradiso," canto xxvii., we read: "But ere January be all unwintered by that hundredth part down there neglected." Dante evidently had Albategni and the Arabian astronomy in mind, according to which, as we have seen, the annual solar error was the hundredth part of a day. Thus, nine thousand years would suffice to take January entirely out of the list of winter months.

The thirteenth century is further remarkable for an event of the utmost importance to the cause of the reform. Alfonso the Wise, of Castile, himself a proficient mathematician, was irritated by the defects in the current mode of reckoning; he is reported to have offended the pious by saying that, had he been present at the creation, he should have given God good advice. In 1248, this prince summoned a college of astronomers to correct the Ptolemaic tables. Fifty of the most celebrated mathematicians of the time assembled in the city of Toledo; and, in 1252, the same year in which Alfonso came to the throne, the new tables, still known as the Alfonsine, were completed. The mean length of the tropical year was fixed at 365 days, five hours, forty-nine minutes and sixteen seconds. Modern astronomy, with its multiplied facilities and its knowledge advanced by 650 years of study, observation and discovery, has been able to detect in this computation an error of only half a minute.

The contributions of the fourteenth century were few and futile. Clement VI. endeavored to elicit from his mathematicians some exact and feasible suggestion for carrying out the reform,

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but they fell to playing schoolmen's tricks with the golden number, and left the problem unsolved and unadvanced. In the fifteenth century, however, the demand for a correction of the calendar became so urgent that it seemed for a time that the agitation was about to pass from words to deeds. Petrus de Alliaco, the distinguished Pierre d'Ailly of the University of Paris, appealed to John XXIII. With epigrammatic antithesis, he called the Pope's attention to the number and eminence of the men who had occupied themselves "*de dierum ac momentorum calculatione,*" instead of "*de denariorum ac monetarum computatione,*" and he was solemnly impressive concerning the sinfulness of continuing to celebrate Easter on the wrong day. The Pope promised to act as soon as the schism in the church should be settled; but, as this was accomplished by his own degradation from office, nothing came of the promise. Pierre's efforts at the Council of Constance were equally fruitless; it was more to the point that Jerome of Prague and John Huss should be burned than that the calendar should be reformed.

Meanwhile the people were obliged to help themselves, as best they could, from actual observation. The errors of the ecclesiastical reckoning exposed the Christians to the ridicule of infidels, and brought the church into intellectual discredit. It was feared, too, that through disregard of the lunar error the new moon might chance to fall on Good Friday; this brought with it the possibility of an eclipse of the sun which would shake popular faith in the miraculous nature of the darkness that covered the earth at the crucifixion. Petitions, reciting these various grievances, were laid before the Council of Bâle in 1434; after much quarrelling it was decreed that seven days should be dropped from the month of May, 1439. The working out of this plan had been entrusted to Nicholas of Cusa, who was thus the first mathematician to come forward with a definite proposal to effect the desired change. He assumed the solar error to be one day in 150 years; the omission, therefore, of seven days would suffice to correct the calendar from the time of the Council of Nicæa.

It is proper to notice, at this point, a slip which is found in some of our books of reference. It is taken for granted that the advocates of reform sought to correct the calendar from the date of the birth of Christ. This was, indeed, several times pro-

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posed; but, with the church, the essential point was to maintain the integrity of the Nicene Easter rule and bring the vernal equinox back to March 21st. Accordingly, when Gregory dropped ten days in 1582, he went back only to the year 325, precisely as Cusanus had done in 1434, though reckoning with a different estimate of error.

But Cusanus did not remain faithful to his task; he went over to the rival faction of Eugenius IV.; and the Council of Bâle, in order to avoid an additional cause of strife, abandoned the calendar reform. It is one of the little ironies of history that this should have been made the reason for postponing a reform which was subsequently proclaimed in the midst of the greatest schism that ever rent the church, and which did materially increase the bitterness of the struggle between the Protestant north and the papacy.

In the latter half of the fifteenth century, another effort was made. Regiomontanus, the famous German mathematician, had constructed a calendar in which, by setting down both the ecclesiastical date and the true date of Easter, he endeavored to forestall the ridicule of the Jews and infidels; at least, they should not be able to say that the Christians did not *know* any better.

Regiomontanus was thereupon summoned to Rome by Sixtus IV. to aid in rectifying the calendar. That was in 1476, and in the same year Regiomontanus died. The reform was postponed for another hundred years.

The next step in the weary process was taken by Leo X., who appealed to the universities of Europe. Their reports were laid before the Lateran Council. In the foreground of the discussion stood Paul of Middelburg. His bid for popular approval was most quaint. According to his plan, he said, Easter would never fall later than the seventh of April and might arrive as early as the first of March; Lent would thus occur in a season when the days would be shorter and the unpleasantness of fasting be thereby mitigated. The delays and deliberations, however, seem finally to have disgusted the Pope; for, in the report which he authorized of the acts of the Lateran Council, the matter of the calendar is not alluded to by a single word.

At last, in the Council of Trent, we catch a glimpse of the the goal, though so disguised as to be unrecognizable. The Council came to an end without mentioning the calendar in any

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official acts; only at the last session, in 1563, it authorized the Pope to revise the missal and the breviary. This was all. Fifteen years later, Gregory XIII., liberally construing his commission concerning the breviary as including the calendar, took the matter so vigorously in hand that within five years the Gregorian calendar was established in all the countries that acknowledged the authority of Rome.

Aloisio (or, as Ranke prefers, Luigi) Lilio, a Calabrian physician, whose name must be numbered among the immortals, had labored to construct a cycle which, while harmonizing with the conditions of the past, should yet be self-renewing for the future. He accomplished this in ten years, and died. In 1577, his brother took the manuscript to the Pope, who submitted it to the mathematicians. A commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Cardinal Sirleto; Christopher Clavius was its leading spirit. An abstract of Lilio's plan was sent to the Christian princes and the leading universities; the official replies are preserved at the Vatican. Dr. Kaltenbrunner, of Graz, whose scholarly paper on "*Die Vorgeschichte der Gregorianischen Kalenderreform*" must be the starting-point for every student of this subject, has made an analysis of these documents. They must have been dreary reading, but some points of general interest appear. Most of the reports were unfavorable. From the Bishop of Glandeves came the sensible suggestion, as from Petrus Pitatus of Verona forty years before, to drop thirteen instead of ten days, and so go back to the time of Christ. The opposition of the Protestants, he rightly thought, would be thus in a measure forestalled. The University of Vienna also advocated the plan. By this means, however, the vernal equinox would have been restored to the twenty-fifth of March as it was in the time of Cæsar; this would have been in contravention of the Nicene decrees. The few reports that were favorable to the plans submitted by the papal commission betrayed a total inability to deal with the question. One from Genoa thought ten days too much to drop at once, proposed seven instead, and suggested that Gregory's mathematicians get rid of the other three days "*in some other way*"! But from Paris came the most remarkable document. The faculty of the university spoke with a deep sense of its duties towards a world swarming with heretics, among whom it classed all astronomers: any attempt to reform the

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calendar was an admission that the Holy Spirit had led the church into error and, by implication, that all who had believed in the Julian calendar would be damned. Thus spoke the Sorbonne at the end of the sixteenth century! With no encouragement from without, and with much opposition from within, the Pope and his commissioners are entitled to the greater credit for the steadfastness with which they pursued their purpose and achieved it. On February 24th, 1581-1582, Gregory XIII. issued the famous bull "*Inter Gravissimas.*" A medal was struck in commemoration of the event, but without mention of Lilio. The head of the Pope was on the obverse; on the reverse appeared the ram with the floral wreath as the symbol of Spring, surrounded by the serpent swallowing its tail as the symbol of eternity; the motto read: "*Anno Restituto MDLXXXII.*"

The Gregorian calendar is based upon the work of Lilio. It might with almost equal justice bear his name, although his plan underwent modifications. Copernicus had corrected the length of the tropical year by four seconds, and the Prutenian tables were substituted for the Alfonsine. It was decreed that "the eclipse of ten days," as Montaigne called it, should take place in October, 1582. The future was provided for, as we were reminded by our recent experience in 1900, by dropping the intercalary days from three out of every four centenary years, a mode of correction which Petrus Pitatus had proposed as early as 1539. With the twenty-ninth of February, 1904, we entered upon a series of leap-years which will not be interrupted until the last year of the twenty-first century. The epacts in the new calendar preserved the same relations as in the old, but they had a new significance: whereas formerly it was the age of the moon on March 22d that was indicated, now it is the age of the moon on January 1st. Thus in Catholic countries the year 1582 lost eighty of its full complement of days, for on the first of January the year 1583 usurped its place. The advantages of the new plan become apparent, when we consider the thirty artificial but ingenious tables by which the modes of correcting the lunar and the solar error are made to harmonize. In the year 2100, these errors will balance each other; the golden number will then agree with the Gregorian Epacts.

The Nicene fathers had not made their Easter rule a canon; to the bull "*Inter Gravissimas,*" however, obedience was exacted

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on pain of excommunication. All Catholics, therefore, were obliged to adopt the reform. In Spain, Portugal, and part of Italy the new calendar was introduced on the day specified, Thursday, October fourth, 1582; the next day was October fifteenth, which would have been Monday, but thus became Friday. In France the change was effected two months later from December ninth to December twentieth. Belgium and the Catholic cantons of Switzerland followed suit in 1583, Poland in 1586, and Hungary in 1587.

In Protestant countries the case was very different. Unfortunately, the Pope made no diplomatic efforts to coax the Protestants into acceptance of the changes; on the contrary, he made the reform distasteful and humiliating to them by his ruthless high-handedness. Felix Strieve, in the "Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences," is authority for most of the details relating to the "*Kalenderstreit*" in Germany. It is his belief that the Pope intended to take the world by surprise, secure the adherence of the Protestants before they quite understood that the reform was due solely to the exigencies of the church, and in this way maintain the papal prestige at the head of an undivided Christendom. He promulgated the bull promptly without waiting for the "scientific justification." The retention of March twenty-first as the date of the vernal equinox plainly betrayed the ecclesiastical nature of the measure; the solar reckoning was thus kept in conformity to the Nicene rule, although it is amusing to note in passing that, in computing the lunar cycle, this rule was violated without compunction. The various arguments adduced by Clavius in support of the reform were, for an astronomer, mere stupid trifling: Christmas should continue to be midwinter, St. John's Day, midsummer, and the days of the greatest martyrs, who for the most part had suffered prior to the Council of Nicæa, would remain more nearly correct, and much else of similar weight. There was, however, one really practical reason for keeping the vernal equinox at March twenty-first; Clavius only dimly hints at it. That reason was that any change in the date of the vernal equinox would render all missals and breviaries useless, thus causing widespread inconvenience and entailing vast expense. Everywhere the needs of the church were to the fore; the Protestants grew suspicious and cautious. Nevertheless, it is possible that by the exercise of a little tact their acceptance

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might have been obtained, if only for the sake of uniformity and a more nearly accurate time reckoning. The Reichstag of the Holy Roman Empire had already been summoned when the bull was issued. It assembled early in July. Not until September, however, did the Pope ask the Emperor to introduce the reformed calendar into Germany. This Rudolf II. could have done by imperial edict, and by omitting all reference to the Pope he might have succeeded in establishing the reform. The Duke of Bavaria had already ordered the adoption of the calendar in his realms, but this seemed to Rudolf an infringement of the Imperial prerogative and the order was withdrawn; moreover, the Reichstag, always jealous of its rights, was in session. The outcome of the situation was that, at the instigation of the Pope, the Emperor requested reports from all of the Electoral Princes. The Landgrave of Hesse, who had some reputation as an astronomer, emphatically deprecated any papal intervention. Augustus of Saxony wrote even more vigorously to the same effect. But up to this time there had been practically no opposition from the Protestants; to them it was an astronomical question. Altogether, meaning to please the majority of the princes without antagonizing the people, Rudolf thought he might safely introduce the reform. When at last the storm broke the Emperor had gone too far to be able to retreat with dignity. In September, 1583, he proclaimed the new calendar without any reference to its ecclesiastical character and its papal origin; the necessity of conforming to the usage of other lands was, practically, the only argument advanced in support of the innovation.

But the proclamation came too late. The papal bull had come to the knowledge of Protestants generally. It was no longer an astronomical question. It became a matter of ecclesiastical politics, embittered by theological hatred. It was observed that the reform was expressly based upon an act of the Council of Trent, and of all councils the Tridentine was the most hateful to Protestants. The Catholics all obeyed the edict; the Protestants all refused to obey, except in principalities where they were in a hopeless minority; in Bohemia there was armed resistance; riots occurred in Riga when the first Sunday after the change was celebrated on Wednesday, and in Belgium there were similar troubles. The ten days were dropped out of January, 1584; but the Imperial courts had to reckon by both old and new styles.

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It is no matter for wonder that the dropping of ten days should puzzle the common people. It is difficult for even the most lucid expounder to make clear to the untutored the difference between dropping ten days from a calendar and losing ten days out of time; that the sun and the moon and the stars move with inexorable precision, and only the human methods of measuring their movements are at fault; that a few seconds of error gathered up here and there out of the centuries will in time amount to one whole day which the human race has most assuredly lived, but which, in its infinitesimal fragments, the calendar failed to record. To the peasant mind this thought was incomprehensible. Ten days had been taken out of their lives, and the idea was highly disquieting that such a thing could be done by any enactment, whether papal or imperial. Vulgar, tasteless witticisms were everywhere rife. Even the intelligent indulged in cheap ridicule. Osiander maintained that the Pope should not be allowed to eat or drink for ten days, and furthermore advised him to conciliate at once the ten saints who lost a day of honor each, lest they bolt the gates of heaven against him and keep him waiting for ten days outside, where the devil might take him. The indignation of the peasants found expression in many vulgar little squibs and pamphlets. A "*Bauernklage*" in rhymed iambics appeared in 1584; the rhymester complained that nobody could tell when to plough, to sow, to dig herbs, etc.; why, even the birds did not know when to pair, to nest, to sing, and to fly south. Addressing the Pope, he said: "Thy God will certainly hold His last judgment upon thee ten days earlier." Of course, Protestant hatred of the Pope and of all his works embittered the controversy far more than mere peasant ignorance. The new calendar was the "Trojan Horse," and it must not be admitted into the evangelical churches. The pulpit fulminated in language which could not be printed to-day. The Pope was covered with shameful abuse. It was asserted that he wished to establish a monopoly in calendars, now that Luther had ruined his pardon and dispensation business. He wanted to set Germany by the ears, it was charged, in order to ascertain who were opposed to him, and then exterminate them in a second St. Bartholomew. The Protestants did not hesitate to lie, but still further inflamed the people by freely quoting passages from the papal bull which that document had never contained. Super-

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stition was enlisted in the strife; the moon on the third of March presented to awed observers the countenance of a veiled woman, who bent low towards the troubled earth and cried: "Woe! woe!"

The Catholics, for the most part, wisely refrained from serious rejoinders. There were some cheap squibs, and in 1590 one Johann Rasch asserted that the birds paired consistently on St. Vincent's day: "Good Catholic birds, more reasonable than many a boorish addle pated man!" A certain nut-tree, too, afforded the Catholics some comfort; it had always remained leafless till St. John's Eve, but on the following day had put forth not only leaves, but blossoms; after 1582 this happened in strict accordance with the new calendar ten days earlier. Branches were sent to the Emperor and the Pope, and pilgrims flocked to see the miraculous tree. Similar stories abounded. From Transylvania came one of a physician whose gout, like an American's hay-fever, kept its annual appointment on a fixed date; from Christmas to Candlemas it plagued him, and in 1582 it piously adapted itself to the Gregorian calendar.

After all, the old calendar was quite as much the work of the hated church as was the new; but this the Protestants never seem to have taken into consideration. Only the most enlightened, like Tycho Brahe and Luther, urged the reform without regard to anything but public utility. Montaigne was perceptibly irritated by the innovation, although, of course, that calm and open-minded rationalist recognized the soundness of the astronomical argument. It made him feel old. "My imagination," he says, "in spite of my teeth, always pushes me ten days forward or backward, and is ever murmuring in my ears: 'his rule concerns those who are going to be.'" But again, reason dominating his rebellious imagination, he says: "There was no more error perceived in the old custom than there is amendment found in this alteration. So great an uncertainty there is throughout; so gross, obscure, and dull is our perception." But it is a curious thing that, even among the intelligent and learned Protestants, there were some, like Mästlin and that dilettante astronomer, the Landgrave of Hesse, who denied the need of any reform. The former, blinded by prejudice or made callous by custom, confidently asserted that, before the error could so increase as to throw the vernal equinox over to Christmas day, the whole world would have gone up in inextinguishable flames, with all its calendars

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upon it. As Strieve points out, this belief in the near approach of the world's end was again widespread, and the phrase "in these, our last days" was very common. The year 1588 was set down for sounding the trumpets of judgment-day. In that year, there was to be a conjunction of all the planets which marks the close of one of the great astrological epochs. Others chose 1623 as the date of the world's end; but in either case the unexpired term of the earth's sentence was so short that a reform of the calendar did seem superfluous. Furthermore, Mästlin accused the Pope of caring as little about the end of the world as an "Epicurean scoffer," for he uses the words: *"Calendarium perpetuum."* But it was also Mästlin who put his finger on the really weak point of the Gregorian reform. He insisted that, if any, not ten, but thirteen days should be dropped. This was not a frivolous, but a logical objection. Our reckoning would then coincide with the actual Christian era. But the reform had advanced too far; after all, this was a point rather of historical than of fundamental importance; only the publishers of missals and breviaries could have derived any substantial advantage from a further change which would have affected the dates, but not the reckoning. Luther, who always made his points with small refinement, but with a certain brutal sanity which we call "horse-sense," maintained that the calendar should be reformed without regard either to the Pope or to Easter. At best, the Easter festival was a "wobbling feast," which he compared to an old coat, made worse by patching. The ancient law of Moses concerning the vernal equinox was the old coat; the patch was the rule of the church fathers concerning the "first Sunday thereafter." The purpose of this regulation was, of course, to prevent the coincidence of Easter with the Passover. "Hence," said Luther, in some such language as this, "hence this wobbling and everlasting haggling; let the *'Schuckelfest'* wobble on as it has for 1400 years, and let the princes reform the calendar by secular authority." But Rome controlled many lands and peoples, while secular authority was short-armed; and to the church the determination of Easter was, as we have seen, of the first importance and the real motive of the reform.

The failure of the Protestants to take the entirely reasonable stand of Luther increased the general bitterness of that turbulent time. The double celebration of holidays caused constant strife

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and irritation. Catholics were haled to court and their children sent to school on what to them were holy days; where Catholic influence prevailed, quite naturally retaliatory measures were enforced. Business relations, too, became exasperatingly complicated, and this added fresh fuel to the already fierce fires of theological controversy. The action of the German evangelical bodies in 1699 did not greatly improve matters. At the instance of Leibnitz, it was resolved that, in the year 1700, the calendar should pass from February the eighteenth to March first. But the system adopted was astronomical, and would therefore coincide with the Gregorian reckoning only at intervals. It was not until the sane judgment, cold rationalism, and royal influence of Frederick the Great were thrown into the scale that at last the reformed calendar found universal acceptance in German lands. Denmark and the United Netherlands adopted it in the year 1700, and in 1701 the evangelical cantons of Switzerland followed, beginning the new century on January twelfth, for after the centenary year, 1700, eleven days had to be dropped.

In England a bill to inaugurate the reform had been introduced as early as 1585, but it never got beyond a second reading in the House of Lords. It was in 1752, in September, that the eleven days were finally dropped, and the legal year made to begin on the first of January. The riots to which this innovation gave rise are matters of familiar history. Hogarth's composition will be remembered, in which a Whig candidate is represented flattering the prejudices of the mob by displaying a banner on which is inscribed: "Give us our eleven days!" Sweden fell into line in 1753. Then, after this struggle of the centuries to get themselves correctly counted, only Russia remained, as she still remains, true to the errors of the Julian computation. By counting the year 1900 as a leap year, instead of dropping the intercalary day, as we did, their solar error now amounts to thirteen days. The matter has been taken in hand and, as of yore, complications have arisen at the outset. The Russian astronomers, fully aware of the beam in their Julian organ of vision, have nevertheless discovered the mote in the Gregorian eye. Accordingly, they ask the Western world to accept a new calendar which, Professor Glaszenap seriously assures us, will not need correction for 100,000 years. The advocates of this chronometric paragon must see that their course can only lead to a defeat of

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all reform. Others, taking counsel of timidity, make this impracticable suggestion: the last day of each long month shall be dropped, so that in less than two years the Russian calendar will be brought into working accord with our own. This would bring confusion into all legal and financial relations on thirteen different occasions, instead of on one only.

The mote alluded to, which has darkened the counsels of the Russian Astronomical Society, is this: the three days of correction dropped out of every 400 years represent a rate of one day in each 133 1-3 years, whereas the error to be corrected amounts to one day in but little more than 128 years. Consequently, in the course of about 4000 years this error will avenge itself by throwing our reckoning one day out. It may be feasible then to consider the present Russian proposal; but, meanwhile, we may safely leave "*dies illa*" to be dealt with by the enlightened astronomers of that remote time.

CHARLES HARVEY GENUNG.

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HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE WEST.

BY WILLIAM R. HARPER, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

It is not uncommon to observe and to make remark upon the changes which have taken place in the world of higher education within the last ten or twenty years. Much has been said of the growth of institutions in numbers, scope and efficiency. Much has been said, likewise, of the modifications in the subject matter of the curriculum and in methods of work. We are led almost to believe that, not only in higher realms, but in the lower, education to-day is a wholly different matter from that of former times. For my own part, I am inclined to think that change, in so far as it has taken place, is, generally speaking, a matter of form rather than of essence. The result gained by education to-day is probably the same that our ancestors secured, whatever methods they employed. We have yet to learn, perhaps, that it is with education as with religion: access to heaven is no longer restricted, even by the most rigid sectarians, to a single path. It is important for educators to keep in mind that formal training is a thing of varied possibilities, and that for different individuals, of different temperament, of different geographical locality or different social environment, there may be different methods; and that, just as many roads led to Rome, in fact all of them, so there are many curricula and many schedules of work and many varieties of method to be counted and considered.

But there is one question, out of the great number connected with this subject of modification in educational work and of differentiation in educational policy, which, perhaps, deserves special mention. That question is this: Is there something in the Eastern institutions of higher education which is not to be

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found in the Western, and is there something in the Western institutions which the Eastern do not have? Has the differentiation between East and West developed types of education which may in any respect be called different? We are not to forget, of course, that a large number of Western men are in Eastern institutions; and that a comparatively small number of students go from the East to the West. It is also true that in the faculties of Eastern institutions are many men who, by birth and spirit, are Western men. On the other hand, a still larger number of men in Western faculties are Eastern in their birth and education. I ought to add that my question has to do rather with college work and life than with university work and life.

Is Western college life more modern than the Eastern? So some maintain. Altogether too large a proportion of our college life and work is, perhaps, still mediæval in its character. Here belongs everything which suggests that the student has rights and privileges other than those of an ordinary citizen; that he is to be treated on a different basis, or that there shall be a different standard by which his actions shall be weighed. It is in accordance with this mediæval spirit that the incoming freshmen must be hazed, and that the police authorities are not to exercise control over a university campus; that a crowd of students may make themselves obnoxious in a theatre, or that men, because they are students, are privileged in the exercise of vandalism. Everything that would encourage the student to believe that he is a superior person, or a person of another caste, is a survival of mediævalism, and this spirit, many tell us, exists in Eastern colleges, large and small, to an extent practically unknown in the West. Moreover, according to mediæval custom, the members of a faculty were officers of state in authority over the students. Because of this relationship, there was always hostility between the faculty and the student body. The more modern idea makes the student and the professor brothers in the pursuit of knowledge, the younger brother guided by the older; both students, and both of them brothers. As a result of this fraternal relationship, a degree of intimacy exists between professor and student which was unknown in former years. It is maintained by many that this close relationship of student and instructor is much more common in the West than in the East. If now these two contentions can be made good, it might surely

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be claimed that the ideas which control college life and work in the West are more modern than those which ordinarily prevail in the East. It may seem upon consideration that the mediæval presents a higher ideal than the modern. It is quite certain that, in the points just mentioned, as well as in others which might be presented by way of illustration, the mediæval is more attractive to the student himself. It is, undoubtedly, a source of gratification to feel that through the college one enters into the privileges of a special and higher caste; but this is not the modern democratic spirit; and, however fully the democratic spirit may be developed as among the members of the upper class, if that spirit is not manifest toward those outside of the class, it is a false rather than a true view of democracy which prevails.

Moreover, in so far as the feeling of the student body towards a faculty is simply that which those who are in supremacy themselves entertain toward a higher authority, and an authority which perhaps exercises more rigid surveillance than is needful, reserving rights which ordinarily might be assumed by the student body itself—in so far, I say, as the body of students acts upon the assumption that any privilege which they might secure, whether by fair means or foul, is theirs to enjoy, just to this extent is the relationship one which is characterized by the unfortunate and hurtful elements that once made up what we now call "mediævalism," a spirit distinctly opposed to that of modern progress.

Still further, the policy, which still prevails so largely in the Eastern college life, of placing men in one institution and women in another is unquestionably an ancient and not a modern policy. In this respect, the Western institutions, which are prevailingly coeducational, have made large advance upon the East. If anything in the development of educational policy has been worked out, it is that the present coeducational policy of the West is a stage of development higher and more advanced than the stage which is represented in the East by separate institutions for men and women. The spirit which opens the doors of every educational institution to women as well as to men is, if I may use a questionable phrase, splendidly modern in contrast with the older spirit of the monastery and the convent. Because I believe in the principle of evolution, at all events as applied to

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educational progress, I am convinced that there is something still higher in educational policy in connection with this question of coeducation than has yet been reached; but the higher development will always include close relationship of men and women in college life, and the extension of equal privileges by the same institution to persons of both sexes. In all this, it may surely be maintained that the West is more modern than the East.

Is the spirit of the Western institution more natural and less artificial, perhaps, than that of the Eastern institution? It is possible that this is only putting what I have already said in another form. Surely, it is a more natural view of the situation, as well as a more modern view, that the student is to be treated as any other member of a civilized community, and accorded no special privileges because he is a student. It may also be claimed that the fraternal relationship between instructor and student is more natural than the relationship suggested by that of strict officialism. It may with equal force be said that the coeducational policy, as thus far developed, is a more natural policy and less artificial than that of education in separate institutions. But it is possible to go further, and to consider whether a more natural situation may not be found to exist in at least two other points. The life of the average student in the Western college is a more natural life, in that it is largely devoid of those artificial elements which connect themselves with the expenditure of large sums of money. It is the exception if a student in an institution west of New York and Pennsylvania spends eight hundred or a thousand dollars a year. It is probably an exception when a student in an Eastern institution, especially the larger institutions, spends a smaller sum than eight hundred to a thousand dollars. This single fact is an index of a different kind of life. It may not be argued that the Eastern student in spending more money gets a larger return; for this difference in amount expended represents the gratification of acquired tastes and the formation of artificial habits of life which are injurious to the extent in which they are artificial.

The relationship which has hitherto existed between institutions of college and university grades and secondary schools, including academies, appears to be another illustration of the acceptance of the artificial rather than the natural. To lay em-

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phasis upon the examination method as a basis for entrance to college; to increase, from time to time, the requirements for admission; and to hold, as has been the practice until more recent times, the work of the college and the work of the secondary schools so definitely apart, the one from the other, is to lay emphasis upon an artificial distinction, a distinction which has neither a logical nor a pedagogical basis. Happily, the influence of the West in this particular is already manifesting itself very plainly in Eastern circles. Nothing has been more marked than the breaking down of the exclusiveness of the New England college and university. In so far as this exclusiveness continues, a greater artificiality may be claimed as existing in the East. Perhaps all this may be summed up in the statement that the Western institution is more democratic in the life of its students, in its relations to institutions of a lower grade, and, above all, in its relations to the public at large. This is, undoubtedly, due to the establishment of the State Universities, and the contribution of this class of institutions to the cause of higher education has been seen nowhere more clearly than in the tendency which is thereby prompted toward the breaking down of class distinctions. The influence of these institutions provided by the people and supported directly by public funds is very pronounced upon institutions built on private foundations. The establishment of a great State University, like that of Michigan, or Wisconsin, or Illinois, in the heart of New England would radically change the development of higher education in that region of our country. This larger democratic influence in the West represents most completely the proposition which I have tried to maintain, that higher education, in its various tendencies, has shown less of that which we may call "artificial" in the West than in the East.

This leads me to suggest still a third question. Is our higher education in the West more practical than that of the East? Much that I have already said might perhaps be included under this question, for that which is more modern and more natural may at the same time be thought more practical. By "practical" I do not mean "utilitarian," although this side of education must be considered at its full value. The work of the Western student is more practical in that he more frequently has in mind a definite purpose, something distinctly tangible. He is aiming to

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accomplish something. Few students in a Western institution enter college simply because it is the fashion to take a college course, or because their fathers before them had passed through such a course, or in order to spend a few years which cannot easily be provided for in some better way. In other words, the Western student is in college because he appreciates the fact that the preparation which it furnishes will improve his opportunities in life. This does not mean that he selects only those subjects which bear upon the particular profession which he has chosen, although this may be done. It means, rather, that he is working toward a definite plan, controlled by a strong purpose to accomplish a certain thing, and further, that, in the large majority of instances, this purpose is being executed at a sacrifice either on the part of the student or on the part of those who support him. His point of view is different; and, consequently, a practical coloring pervades and penetrates his work. This same point is seen in another fact that institutions in the West have recognized earlier and more definitely, that the college training may be secured through the study of matters which stand in close touch with life, as well as through those subjects which are more remotely connected with it. The closer identification of professional training and college training is one of the great tendencies of modern times which has been more plainly emphasized in the West. The point I have in mind is illustrated by the fact that Harvard is to-day only beginning to introduce courses of instruction in technological subjects, and by that other fact, which, for a quarter of a century or more, has seemed a sort of enigma—the sharp line of distinction which has existed between Yale College and the Sheffield Scientific School. Here, again, the State Universities have been leaders; and their pioneer work, which was necessarily practical because of its close connection with the hearts of the people, has exercised in the past and is exercising in the present a tremendous influence upon higher education throughout the country, in demonstrating the possible efficiency of a more practical higher education.

My last question grows out of all the rest, and is again a summary of those that have preceded it. Is the student life and the student work of the Western institution more serious than that of the Eastern institution? To maintain this would, perhaps, be making an unjustifiable charge against the other institutions

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from which have come the source of our strength; for who does not recognize the fact that it has been Harvard and Yale and Brown and Amherst and Williams, and a score of other names equally well known, that have given us in the West our ideals and our teachers? It is impossible for me to express a sentiment which would, in any way, reflect upon the past or the present greatness and efficiency of institutions that have contributed so greatly to the prosperity and welfare of our nation. But it is not I who raise this question. Within three months, seven college and university professors or presidents have in my hearing asked it. Ordinarily one might say that the answer must be affirmative, if what has already been said is true. If Western education is more modern, more natural and more practical, it ought to be more serious. Is it true, as the representatives of Eastern institutions themselves have said, that, in the larger and to some extent in the smaller colleges, it has ceased to be the proper thing, indeed the regular thing, for men to study? Is it true that a change has come over Eastern college life, and that to-day serious study on the part of the students is no longer a recognized part of college life, or that it is so inconsiderable a factor in that life as to occasion apprehension and alarm? Is it true that certain men well known in Eastern circles have given this question very careful attention, and are hoping for a solution, at least in part, to come out of the growing influence of Western higher education upon the East? I have heard these questions asked and answered affirmatively by representative Eastern educators; men whose candor was surpassed only by the intense anxiety which filled their souls upon this point.

Whatever may be said of the East, no man can yet say that in our Western institutions, through and through, there does not exist a spirit as serious as any that has characterized the student of any age or country; a spirit which poverty cannot repress; a spirit of devotion and consecration to life and to life's ideals than which no higher has been known in history. I have not suggested that this same spirit is not found in Eastern institutions. To do so would be to belie the truth as it is known to all men. I have simply repeated the question which Eastern educators are asking, whether the serious spirit does not prevail more extensively in the Western institution than in the Eastern.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

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ANOTHER CANADIAN TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY.

BY JOHN CHARLTON, M.P.

THE scheme for another Canadian transcontinental railway, to be known as the Grand Trunk Pacific, is a bold one, and is one to which the Canadian Government now stands fully committed. The necessity for additional transportation facilities for the great Canadian Northwest is already quite apparent. Last year, there was a grain blockade of a serious character. It is reasonable to anticipate that the wheat production of the country will increase rapidly; and the Grand Trunk Pacific line cannot be fully completed in less than five years, by which time a great increase in wheat production will have taken place in the West; and the facilities to be offered by the new line will be fully required. One Canadian transcontinental line at present exists—the Canadian Pacific Railway, stretching from Montreal to Vancouver, with an extension to Quebec, and one across the northern part of the State of Maine to St. John, New Brunswick, and Halifax, Nova Scotia. In addition, a line known as the Canadian Northern is in operation, uniting Port Arthur on Lake Superior to Winnipeg, passing south of the Lake of the Woods, and for fifty miles through the territory of the State of Minnesota. This line has been extended several hundred miles west of Winnipeg, and is being pushed forward to Edmonton on the upper Saskatchewan. Both the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian Northern rely mainly upon water transportation from Fort William and Port Arthur down the chain of Great Lakes, part of the grain transported from the West by these lakes going through to Buffalo and New York, part of it being transshipped at Depot Harbor on Georgian Bay for Canadian ports, and going by the Canada Atlantic and Grand Trunk to Montreal and Portland. The Cana-

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dian Pacific Railway, as a through grain route, has not afforded extensive facilities east of Lake Superior, as the character of the line east of Port Arthur is not favorable to the conduct of heavy freight traffic.

The productive region of the Canadian Northwest is one of enormous extent, and the peculiar physical characteristics of this region have not been fully understood until within recent years. The isothermal line representing the mean temperature of St. Paul and Winnipeg passes northward of latitude 60°, and embraces the entire valley of the Peace River, of the Hay River north of Peace River, and of a portion of the Laird River valley. The Laird is a large stream entering the Mackenzie at about latitude 62°. An enormous region is embraced in the agricultural area of the Northwest, reaching up to near the south shore of Great Slave Lake, embracing the Province of Manitoba, and the Territories of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Athabasca, and a portion of British Columbia and Mackenzie. It is now supposed that the Peace River valley, which lies entirely north of the present settled section, is the best country in the Canadian Northwest. The future possibilities of this country, of course, are to some extent problematical. The area adapted to the growth of wheat in the entire Canadian Northwest is supposed to exceed 250,000,000 acres. Of this vast extent of country, but 3,250,000 are under wheat this year, and the anticipated harvest will be 60,000,000 bushels. The land to be placed under cultivation can easily exceed the present amount by at least thirty-fold.

Into this region a great tide of immigration is now flowing, from Great Britain, Northern Europe, and still more extensively from the Western States of the United States. The settlers from Iowa, Illinois, Nebraska and other Western States understand the conditions of the country into which they are going, and go prepared to commence farming operations at once, and with ample means to do so. The advantage of selling farms at from $75 to $100 an acre in these Western States and buying land just as good for from $5 to $15 per acre, is a sufficient inducement to insure a large immigration, now that the character of the new country is so well understood. That the country will settle up rapidly, and that its productive capacity will increase in corresponding ratio, may be assumed as certain.

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To this great region railways are absolutely essential. The United States was furnished by nature with natural outlets, that rendered a large development of the country practicable before railways played any part in transportation. The Mississippi, with its thousands of miles of navigable tributaries; the Great Lakes, with the outlet from Buffalo to Albany by the Erie Canal; and the navigable rivers of the Atlantic seaboard, furnished transportation facilities adequate to the needs of the country for several decades. In 1850, when the nation had 23,000,000 inhabitants, railways had scarcely become a factor in transportation. The case is different with the Canadian Northwest. Its great river, the Mackenzie, with its tributaries, flows to the Arctic Ocean, and is not a practicable outlet for the products of the region it drains. Every bushel of grain must be transported through the interior of this country, and as far, at least, as to the waters of the Great Lakes, by railway; and, consequently, railway construction must to a large extent precede the settlement of the country. For this reason, the determination of the Canadian Government to secure the construction of another transcontinental line is timely and politic.

The new line will run from Moncton in New Brunswick to Port Simpson on the Pacific Ocean, nearly in latitude 55° and just to the south of the southern projection of the United States Alaskan possessions. Moncton is a convenient point for reaching the seaports of Halifax and St. John, being, by the Intercolonial Railway, 183 miles from the first-named place and 89 miles from the latter. From Moncton to Quebec, the line is to be laid down by the most direct available route, avoiding the territory of the State of Maine. The saving in distance between Moncton and Quebec is estimated at from 110 to 140 miles, as compared with the Intercolonial Railway. Better grades will be secured, and a line capable of moving freight at greatly reduced cost as compared with the Intercolonial will be the result. At Chaudiere Junction, five miles above Quebec, the line will cross the St. Lawrence by a magnificent bridge, now being constructed at a cost of $5,000,000. From Quebec, let the reader trace a line direct to Winnipeg passing north of Lake Nipigon, the most northerly body of water in the St. Lawrence basin, and connecting with Lake Superior by the Nipigon River. From Winnipeg the line will proceed to the Northwest by Battleford and Edmonton, striking the Peace

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River at or near Fort Dunvegan in latitude 56°, and running from thence to Port Simpson either by the Peace River Pass or Pine River Pass, both of them highly favorable for railway construction, and less than 2,000 feet above the sea level. This route will make the main line from 1,835 to 1,875 miles in length from Moncton to Winnipeg, a little over 1,400 miles being the distance between Quebec and Winnipeg, and a line 1,740 miles in length, roughly speaking, from Winnipeg to Port Simpson. The construction of two important branch lines will unquestionably follow closely upon the construction of the main line; one from some point on the main line in the Province of Quebec running down the valley of Nottaway River, a large stream, draining what is represented to be a valley possessed of excellent soil and a climate that will permit the growth of cereals, and reaching James Bay, the southerly extremity of Hudson Bay, at the most southerly harbor, that will serve the purposes of commerce on that body of water. The other, a branch line from or near Dunvegan on Peace River, passing north through the region drained by Hay River and Liard River and on to the Yukon, a distance, roughly speaking, of 1,000 miles from Dunvegan to Dawson. The construction of these branches, of course, is not yet provided for; but their opening up will surely and immediately follow the construction of the main artery; and, in addition, branch lines will ramify through various sections of the Northwest, tributary to the main line.

The construction of this transcontinental line was perhaps unnecessary, viewed merely in the light of affording an outlet to the product of the Canadian Northwestern wheat-fields. An additional line to Lake Superior, whence grain would have found its way to the seaboard by American or Canadian routes, as the case might be, would have served the purpose. The Hill interest and other American railway interests would have penetrated the Canadian Northwest with railways, and offered ample facilities for moving the crops of the country by way of Duluth, Minneapolis and Chicago, without asking for Government aid. Sentiment has had much to do with the inception and perfection of the Grand Trunk Pacific scheme—a desire for commercial independence, for access to our own seaports, a desire to place ourselves in the position where the oft-repeated threat of the abrogation of the bonding privileges by the United States would cease to disturb us. For

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these reasons, it was decided to have an all-Canadian line from ocean to ocean, starting from a Canadian port on the Pacific and crossing to the great Canadian port of Quebec, and to ports of the Maritime Provinces for a winter outlet. Perhaps we owe this scheme to the fact that the bonding privileges may be withdrawn, even though the injury would be as great to American interests as to our own.

The success of the new line east of Winnipeg will be largely a matter of grades. The discussion of this question has permitted me to impress again and again the importance of this question of grades upon the Government, and the promoters of this scheme. I have represented that, with a 4/10 per cent. grade, a good alline-ment, a ninety-pound rail, massive bridges and first-class construction, the road can carry wheat from Winnipeg to Quebec, and in winter to the Maritime Provinces, and compete with any other route; while if a road is constructed with light rail and fifty or sixty feet grades to the mile, we shall fail to secure the object had in view in constructing it. Fortunately, the country through which the new line will pass from Winnipeg east is favorable for the construction of such a line, which passes almost the entire distance north of the Height of Land between the waters of the St. Lawrence and the Hudson Bay basin, a country which is represented to be level and highly favorable to railway construction. If the anticipations with regard to this matter which seem to be rendered reasonable by explorations hitherto made, are borne out, this great trunk line will play an important part in future years in laying down the abounding products of the Canadian Northwest at the seaboard. The section of the new road from Winnipeg west will pass through a country where difficult engineering problems will not be numerous, and the line will be easily constructed. By the stipulations of the agreement between the Government and the Grand Trunk Pacific Company, it is to be up to the standard of the Grand Trunk between Montreal and Toronto, which is a first-class line.

Naturally, many theories were advanced as to the proper method to adopt in the construction of this great continental line. One party was in favor of Government ownership throughout. Among the advocates of this theory was the Hon. A. G. Blair, the Minister of Railways, who resigned ostensibly for the reason that his plan of construction was not adopted. Another party favored the con-

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struction of a line from Quebec by way of North Bay near Lake Huron, and thence south of the Height of Land between the St. Lawrence and Hudson Bay basins, by granting aid in the form of subsidies in money and land. The Grand Trunk officials made overtures under this plan, and offered to construct the road for a subsidy of $6,400 per mile in money, and 5,000 acres in land per mile. The scheme of construction finally adopted by the Government was, first, to construct as a Government road the portion from Moncton to Winnipeg, say, 1,850 miles in length, and to lease this part of the line to the Grand Trunk Pacific Company for a period of fifty years for a rental of three per cent. a year upon the cost of construction, the road to revert to the Government at the end of fifty years, and the Government, for the first seven years after the road passed into the hands of the Grand Trunk Pacific as lessee, to pay the interest upon cost of construction. For the western section, from Winnipeg to Port Simpson, the Company is to construct the road, the Government aiding by guaranteeing its bonds to the maximum extent of $13,000 per mile for the section from Winnipeg to the Mountains, and $30,000 per mile from the commencement of the Mountain Section to Port Simpson, the Government's guarantee not in any case to exceed three-fourths of the cost of the line without equipment. The remaining cost of the line is to be raised by the Grand Trunk Company of Canada guaranteeing the second mortgage of the Grand Trunk Pacific Company. The Company is to issue $20,000,000 of preferred stock, and $25,000,000 of common stock. The preferred stock is to furnish $20,000,000 worth of rolling stock; the common stock provides elevators, yards, betterments of various kinds, terminal facilities, etc. The Government's security is, retention of ownership of the eastern division, with a mortgage upon the rolling stock placed upon the same by the Company, and a first mortgage on the western division with its rolling stock and appliances. The interest upon the guaranteed portion of the cost of the Mountain Section of the western division is to be paid by the Government for seven years, as in the case of the payments of the seven years' interest on the cost of the eastern division, which is estimated to cost from Moncton to Winnipeg, without equipment, $30,000 per mile. By this arrangement, the Government will pay in interest a sum estimated at $14,500,000, spread over seven years. This will represent the total amount of its aid to the scheme, aside

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from that represented by advances for construction, for which it will hold the ownership of the eastern division and a first mortgage upon the western division.

The agreement between the Government and the Company contains various stipulations which will be greatly to the interest of the public. In the construction of the eastern division, the Company is interested in its being economically and honestly done as they are to pay interest by way of lease upon the cost, and the officers of the Company are to be associated with the commissioners of the Government in the management of construction. At the same time, the Government is interested in preventing the actual cost of the western division being misrepresented, as their guarantee is to be only three-fourths of its actual cost, and it has the privilege of auditing the Company's accounts and exercising the necessary degree of supervision. When the road is completed, the section from Winnipeg east is to be opened to the use of all railway companies which desire running rights upon the same, the provision for working out the details of this privilege to be arranged between the Grand Trunk Pacific Company and the companies seeking for running rights, the Government acting as arbitrator in cases of dispute, if such arise, as to the proper method of putting the system into operation. The same provision will also apply to the western division from Winnipeg to Port Simpson under the terms of the agreement. It is stipulated in the agreement that freight rates from the Canadian interior to Canadian seaports shall be no higher than to American seaports, and that export freight shall be carried to Canadian seaports, where not billed by the shipper to American seaports, and that no discrimination shall be used by the Company in favor of the American ports. The Company also enters into agreement to provide ample shipping accommodation at the Atlantic and Pacific terminal seaports. Another provision of great importance is that the Government shall, in its discretion, exercise control over the rates to be charged by the Company. Ample provisions are made against watering the stock. Rates will be applicable only to payment of dividends on actual cost, and, with the Government insisting upon reasonable dividends, the Company should perform its work very cheaply. The provisions of the agreement are very strict with regard to the up-keeping of the eastern division, which, at the expiration of fifty years, is to pass into the hands of the

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Government in a thorough state of repair, and up to the standard of first-class roads at that time.

This great line, for 1,300 miles between Quebec and Winnipeg, will pass through an unbroken wilderness in the hinterland of Quebec and Ontario, and will serve the purpose of a great colonizing road, opening up to settlement an enormous region which is represented to be susceptible of sustaining a large population. It will develop the Athabasca and Peace River valleys in the Canadian Northwest and an important section of northern British Columbia, where extensive coal-fields have recently been discovered, and which is known to be rich in iron and in the precious metals. Its Hudson Bay branch down the valley of Nottaway River, when constructed, will make tributary to the road the business from the fisheries and the minerals on the shores of the great inland sea, which exceeds in size the German Ocean. On the eastern shores of this sea have been discovered enormous deposits of iron, and great mineral riches will no doubt be developed in the country around it. The branch line which will follow upon the construction of the western division, and run from the Peace River valley to the Yukon, will give the grain-fields of the Peace River valley cheap access to the mining settlements of the Yukon, which contains one of the richest gold-bearing regions in the world, and will give to the Canadian people a pleasing sense of being entirely independent, for their access to this region, of the American gateway at Skagway.

The sources of business for this great line are not confined to the transportation of grain from the productive lands that it will pass through from Winnipeg to the Rocky Mountains. It will have an enormous lumber trade, from the wilderness east of Winnipeg to the prairies of the West. It will also have a great timber trade, from the timbered portion of British Columbia, and of the Pacific Coast adjacent to Port Simpson, to the prairies. It will transport the cattle from the great cattle-ranches along the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains to Quebec or Halifax for shipment to Europe. It will confer upon the Northwestern portion of the great wheat-fields through which it will pass better access for grain to the markets of England, by way of Port Simpson and the Panama Canal, than can be offered by the long rail-haul to the Atlantic Coast. It will give a short and direct route for a great trade in flour and other products that is sure to spring

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up between the wheat-growing region on the east coast of the Pacific, and the great population of China and Japan. It will give to Canada exclusive control of the vast and rapidly increasing trade in the valley of the Yukon, and in the auriferous region of Mackenzie and Yukon Territories. It will tap the untold resources, piscatorial, mineral, etc., of Canada's great *mare clausum,* Hudson Bay. It will prove a nation-builder, and the spirit of patriotism, and the determination to achieve an independent position as a commercial power, through direct and cheaper access to our own seaports, will inevitably give to the promoters of this scheme a reputation for far-sighted perception of coming events, and a bold grasp of the requirements of the approaching period of expansion and rapid development.

JOHN CHARLTON.

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REMINISCENCES OF WAR.

BY CARMEN SYLVA, THE QUEEN OF ROUMANIA.

THE sun had set over Bucharest, casting a blood-red glow upon the broad city and the distant horizon, until the window-panes gleamed like fiery eyes. Then a softer hue overspread everything: the plateau deepened to violet, the heavens grew rosy-red, and the mist, packed with unhealthy malarial vapor, stole from the lower levels, and night at last rolled slowly over the whole country. The continuous, raucous groaning of the shells, which filled the spaces between Giurgewo and Rustchuk with tremors, died away. I stood on the little veranda, usually so sunny, where already many convalescents had basked in the autumn warmth, and awaited the fresh convoy of wounded, which had been announced, but had not yet arrived. At last the long-drawn, melancholy shriek of the engine broke the silence of the night, and the long train steamed slowly into the little station of Cotroceni, which I had turned into a refuge for the wounded on their way to the various other hospitals.

As far as was possible to one in haste, I selected for my care those whose wounds seemed to be the most severe, or whose condition needed most attention; but many dragged themselves along to implore that they might be taken too. I believe that they had a kind of superstition that my patients were more likely to be cured. In silence the solemn procession emerged from the darkness. The wounded men raised themselves in their beds to scan the new arrivals by the feeble and flickering light of the lamp which was always burning before the Ikon on the wall. A few, heavily groaning, lay still, and showed no interest: they did not even throw a glance towards the door. The surgeons moved from bed to bed changing the bandages; one of my ladies held a light, and I did what I could to encourage the nervous. They lay like tired

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children, and groaned: "Oh! those carts, those carts!" For five days they had endured the jolting of the carts, and most of the wounds were in so terrible a state that we no longer used the word "gangrene," which the poor patients had learned to understand, but merely said in an undertone in French: "*Il y a du noir.*"

They told us what they had suffered from frost-bite, from the jolting on the road, from hunger and pain. There was one man only who uttered no sound. He made no complaint, told us nothing; in short, said not a single word. With eyes on the ground, he sat up on the edge of his bed and gnashed his teeth, which were invisible behind a dark beard. When his bandage was removed, we found a rather serious wound; one finger, half shot off, had gangrened, and was full of maggots and dirt. The surgeons shook their heads: "A strange wound," they said, half aloud. A jet of blood gushed out and spattered upon my dress. Half fainting he laid his head on my shoulder, and with clenched teeth kept praying us impatiently that his finger might be cut off. The surgeons had some difficulty in grasping the vein with their forceps and stopping the hemorrhage; his finger seemed to have been shot away from the inside of his hand. Trembling with cold, he repeated his entreaties. We endeavored to question him so far as his weakness and loss of blood might allow him to reply; but he gave no answer, turned his head away, kept his eyes on the floor, and gnashed his teeth. It was late at night before the last bandage was in place. Full of anxiety, I crossed over to the little summer-house, which, roughly improvised in an old ruined monastery, was bitterly cold in winter. The plateau of Cotroceni was dotted with myriads of Russian carters, who had come in ceaseless cavalcades from the furthest steppes of Russia, and who were never again to see their homes. There, graves were waiting them beneath the snow; with their horses and wagons they were to vanish from the face of the earth. Pariah-dogs and birds of prey were already gorging themselves upon the carcasses of horses, which lay where they had fallen, for no one could be spared to remove them. The barracks, now converted into hospitals, cast a bright line of light along the darkness, as I lay down for a few hours' rest. As a rule, I was up again before four o'clock, and then thought over and noted down the programme for the day.

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Next morning I found the man with the wounded finger still sunk in the same gloomy silence, and with a still more sinister expression upon his face. Silent and shivering with cold, he sat on his bed, staring fixedly in front of him. I was accustomed to see the beautiful eyes of my Roumanians (*" les yeux dramatiques roumains,"* as a French surgeon called them) turned upon me with childlike confidence and joy, and I stood helpless before this expression of disconsolate torpidity. I could not stay long just then, and indeed did not return all that day, for we had improvised five hospitals in the town, and they all lacked every equipment save what was afforded by a little company of self-sacrificing, willing women, who procured the most necessary articles at the cost of their dearest possessions. It was no easy task, especially as there was then no " Red Cross " at all, and our hastily organized ambulance had nothing but what could be collected on the spur of the moment. It is only in time of war that the incredible insufficiency of common preparations becomes evident: what seemed at first a vast supply of beds and bandages is swallowed up in a couple of hours, and we stand helplessly facing dire necessity, with the danger of losing lives that might easily be saved but for the want of cleanliness and a little more linen. Were I to write a volume on this theme, I could not do justice to all that the women of Roumania did in those days of trial. Day and night they were to be found at their posts, giving all they had, whether they could spare it or no; yet they were not trained by any " Samaritan " hospital or by the Red Cross League. Many of these ladies, however, were accustomed to take the doctor's place on their own estates, where there was no medical assistance within miles. Besides, times such as these teach one in a few hours much that one did not know before. It is, as it were, a merciful dispensation of God that more mistakes are not made, and that one kind helper learns from another how things ought *not* to be done. People thought that I was most experienced; they had forgotten that I was already settled in Roumania at the time of the Franco-German War and that during the Bohemian Campaign I was living on the Rhine. In other words, I had been as far as possible from the theatres of war; so far, in fact, as to have been myself one of those simple people who, sending little, had flattered themselves they had sent enormous supplies. I took care not to tell the truth, however, for I had made minute inquiries and thought

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to myself that, even if I should make mistakes, others make them also; we none of us knew anything. When one has not even got sufficient shirts for one single ward, no more bedding, no cots and no dressings, one may have ever so much knowledge and experience, and yet they will be of no avail! In peace, numbers convey no idea to our minds. In war alone one learns what one thousand, two thousand, four thousand wounded mean. The joy with which each fresh parcel is greeted should, indeed, reward the generous givers; and yet at the moment one has hardly time to thank them! Nowadays, there is far too much talk about the emancipation of women. The sex in this respect curiously fail to grasp the beautiful part which has been allotted them—the privilege of help! So much is needed that one may be able to help. So much intelligence, heart, foresight, experience, good-humor and self-sacrifice, that to learn to help takes a life-time. War, which we otherwise reckon as one of the greatest evils of humanity, has at least this use—it teaches self-forgetfulness, it brings one into touch with the heart and strength of a nation, it levels all differences of rank and class, and makes for the universal brotherhood of man. If only one kept the same ideal before one in time of peace, there would be no time then to think of emancipation for sheer pressure of work!

When I got home late that evening, one of the ladies, who was engaged in my hospital, told me that the curiously silent patient had asked urgently for me, and that, however much they had begged him to tell them what was troubling him, he had steadfastly refused to speak to any one except myself. They had hoped to get him to confess and ease his mind by summoning a priest, who placed his "cope" upon his head and said some prayers over him. It was in vain, and the poor fellow continually exclaimed: "The Princess! I will see the Princess! I will tell the Princess everything!" At last they told him that they could not find me just then, and that he must be patient until the morning.

On entering the ward the following morning, I could see from a distance how the bed was trembling beneath him. He tried to jump out of bed as soon as he saw me, but fell on his knees as the attendants prevented him. Putting his hands together, as though in prayer, he began to make a formal confession to me, at the same time gnashing his teeth so loudly and trembling so violently that the bed shook with his emotion. He was as yellow as wax; pyæmia

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had already set in; and he glared about him with such a horror in his eyes that the sight of him filled me with fear and pity. "I! I! I did it!" he groaned, with trembling lips; "I thought of my mother; yes, I thought of my mother, and then the devil whispered to me: 'One shot, and you are wounded, and then they will send you home!' I did it and now I must die, now I am a suicide and lost to all eternity, in hell for all eternity! The devil whispered to me! Only the earth and my rifle know what I did, and now I am a coward and a suicide. Hell is grasping at me already! I feel it, I am consuming in its flames! Oh! forgive me, forgive me! Give me peace before hell gets hold of me!" I tried to speak gently to him of God's goodness and long-suffering, but he interrupted me: "You, your path will be strewn with flowers: for me there is only a merciless hell!" How long he was speaking I do not know. All the wounded were sitting up in their beds, listening, pale with terror; the surgeons, deeply moved, stood round this awful death-bed, where a luckless handsome youth, who perhaps had never done an evil deed till that particular moment, believed himself to be handed over to all the terrors of hell. The fire of the ague, which devoured his bones, he felt as the flames of hell, and his terror was such that one seemed to see the Pit opening its jaws before him.

In so terrible a scene, indifference was impossible. The chattering of his teeth and the broken words of that memorable confession could be heard throughout the ward. At last he grew so weak that they coaxed him to lie down, and he sank again into the same disconsolate silence. Only when he was asked how he felt, he replied: "Far better than I deserve: I am a miserable sinner!" On the third day we moved him to a tent, as we feared that the blood-poisoning might be infectious to the other patients, and his despair too harrowing to the emotions of the wounded. His patience remained unshaken to the last; but I did not feel that I had been successful in allaying his fears and bringing him consolation. Still, there was no further burst of emotion, however great his sufferings may have been, and he passed into eternity calmly and without a word.

The day after, a dense, heavy autumn mist enshrouded us, as with a curtain of icy lead. From the hospital windows one could hardly distinguish the nearest tents, when a poor woman, wading barefoot through the deep mud, emerged from the gray monotone

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of the mist. She was accompanied by a man, apparently a neighbor from her village. I saw her talking to the soldiers of the Ambulance, but before I could reach her she had given the name of her son and was asking after him. Thoughtlessly the soldier replied: "He died last night in this very bed!" The poor woman fell upon her knees, as though she had been struck by lightning; the clean linen she had brought with her fell into the mud. Beating her breast, tearing at her veil and hair, she kept calling his name, "Radule! Radule! Radule! Radule!" out into the mist. She would not let herself be comforted, she declined both food and drink, and we barely succeeded in forcing on her companion some money for her use. She would not stay with us, but began her homeward journey without delay. I watched her figure in the mist loom larger and larger, and listened to her voice growing hoarser in the distance. So long as I live I shall hear the cry of that disconsolate mother's heart sounding in my ears: "Radule! Radule! Radule!"

In the ward, however, they had regained their spirits, for a lad lay there who was happy in a slight knowledge of the violin. We had got him a fiddle; and he lay on his bed with a happy smile, forgetful of the pains in his leg, and coaxed some little tune from his instrument, his pale lips shaping into the word "Sublime!" Every one was glad in his gladness, and no one thought of criticising his playing. Amongst the first batch of wounded was the only son of a well-to-do miller, a lad of about eighteen, who had been shot through the hand, and tetanus had set in. We made every endeavor to conquer the terrible and deadly cramp by rubbing and massaging his back. But all, of course, was in vain, and soon his pleasant childlike smile was changed to the tortured and distorted semblance of a grin. As he knew that he must die, I spoke some comforting words to him and said: "God is near to you, He will help you." "Yes, yes, do you not see?" he exclaimed; "I see Him." All night through he made the sign of the cross; and, as his strength failed him, he begged the lady on duty from between his clenched teeth: "Make—me—the cross!"

It was a pleasant hour in the wards when all the bandages had been changed and letters were dictated to those at home. We had allotted the duty of writing to the young girls, who were allowed to distribute the food, make cigarettes and write letters. One of the wounded had had its lower jaw so shot away that he could

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hardly speak, and yet he dictated the following letter to his wife: "I hope this letter will find you as happy as can be. As regards myself, you must know that I am very well" (he was dying!) "and in the Princess's Hospital. I was shot through the breast." "But, Nicolai," interrupted the girl with a roguish glance, "you are telling lies; that isn't true at all!" "Do you think," said he, quite seriously, "that I would tell her what I look like, so that she may be unfaithful to me?" Another threatened his wife with the most terrible beating, should she commit herself in his absence.

One young man would by no means allow his leg to be amputated. "Have it done," said his comrade on the next bed, who had had his hand cut off the day before; "let them do it; it does not hurt!"

The convalescents performed complete comedies, which they made up for the amusement of those who were still in bed. These plays were often extremely funny and witty, representing scenes at the law courts or elections, and in performing them they used to develop a truly marvellous eloquence.

When the first body of Turks was expected, I went to the hospital and delivered a long speech, in which I explained to our wounded that prisoners of war and wounded are no longer enemies, but brothers. "Yes, yes," said one of them, "brothers; but if only I see the man who wounded me—" and a threatening fist completed the sentence. At eleven o'clock at night I drove alone in my sleigh through the wonderful moonlit night, and found the Turks being zealously cared for by our wounded, who were holding lights and basins for the surgeons as kindly as though they had never thought of looking for the men who had wounded them! They could not talk to one another, but as it is generally accepted that no words are wanted for making love or playing cards, they gambled all day long. The patience and gratitude of the Turks were indeed admirable. At first they were terribly frightened, because they had made short work of our prisoners, and so thought that the same fate would befall themselves. But when they saw that they were carefully looked after, their gratitude knew no bounds. I was present when a surgeon, after resetting a patient's elbow, put several tubes through the shattered joint. The Turk lay there with closed eyes and did not utter a sound; though his skin clung to his bones in agony, not an eyelash quivered, but when the surgeon had finished, he stroked his arm as if to thank

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him with a gesture. When we asked them how they were getting on, the invariable answer, even to their last breath, was: "Better, well." The poor men suffered greatly from homesickness, especially at first. An Arab captive threw himself on the ground before me, and, kissing my feet, implored me to allow him to go home, at the same time showing me on his fingers that he had eight little children. I had to leave him unconsoled, for I could not even talk to him. He died of homesickness.

It was very interesting to observe the different ways in which the various races met their sufferings. The Turks were the most stoical, the Russians the most patient, the Roumanians showed a peculiar blending of humor and deep melancholy. They clamored almost incessantly for their mothers, whose hands they covered with kisses; whilst the prettiest of young wives would only be greeted with a short imperious nod after a separation of some months. The gypsies were the most sensitive and wept freely: these highly strung children of Indian dreamland, so full of mystery for us, are like creatures in a fairy-tale. Many a dying man greeted me as "mother" in those days.

Many an awful story, too, I had to listen to,—stories that cannot be compressed into so small a space, but here is one of them:

The autumn leaves are falling singly through the peaceful air of the garden of Goleschti. The sun lights them up again for the last time, and then, when they seem to be fullest of life, their hour of death has come. In the garden of Goleschti patriots have been brought to sacrifice their possessions, liberty, happiness and peace for their country. There lives the patriarchal family of Golesco, great-grandmother, grandmother, with splendid sons and daughters, and a great host of grandchildren. Peace reigns supreme just now in the garden of Goleschti. Under the linden-tree sits an old lady, dressed in black. A book lies on her lap, and her great light-brown eyes are piercing into the past, recalling all the forms of those to whom she has sacrificed her life, and whose death-beds she has soothed. She has never married; her countenance is sunken and ascetic, but of a great nobility and shining gentleness, such as one sees in Murillo's picture of St. Thomas. Her life is full of cares: she has educated the orphans of her brothers and sisters, taught the whole village the beautiful art of embroidery, encouraged to retain the tradition of the Roumanian national costume, which pleased me much when first I came among

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them, and became a source of profit for the country. She is the guardian angel of the whole neighborhood. Just now she is giving herself a moment's rest; she is looking into the secrets of her tired heart, whilst her thoughts flutter down to the grave, as the dead leaves to the earth, both irradiated by the life-giving beams of the sun.

Now a sound catches her ear and she turns her head. A shade of deep compassion flits across her brow; for, through the quiet air, the sorrowing tones of the death chant, sung by a single voice, come tremblingly from the village street. It is the priest, moving slowly in his vestments between the mean huts, followed by his acolyte with the censer and a funeral procession, followed also by mourners, who often improvise most poetical *Bocete* like the *voceratrice* in Corsica. In a pine coffin on the bier lies an aged woman with snow-white hair, peaceful and calm, her brow furrowed with the burden of many bitter years. A moderate procession follows reverently and devoutly. Only one of the followers strays hither and thither, raises her finger to her temple in a military salute, smiles amiably at every one, showing her gleaming rows of teeth, whilst her wonderful brown eyes rest with indifference upon the body that she is honoring. It is Anita, the daughter of the dead woman, the mad girl who in losing her mother loses everything in her world, and yet is ignorant of it all. An old rag, scantily girt round her hips, serves her for drapery; her blouse is open and only now and again does a compassionate hand set straight her fluttering rags. Her black hair falls in disorder from under a kerchief which might once have been bright red. No one appears to be disturbed by her; she glides among them, now forward now backward, always with the military salute and the pleasant vacant smile. She is the only one who laughs at such a time. At last the church door is reached; but, whilst the procession vanishes through it, Anita remains outside for a while, playing round the mossy headstones, until she too disappears under the porch, enticed by the singing. The recluse in the garden looks after her with a sigh, and the story of the mad girl passes through her mind as, placing her slender finger between the leaves of her book, she paces silently up and down over the fallen leaves.

How pretty Anita was, how fresh and full of mirth! Her brown skin was warm as sun ripened fruit, her beautiful eyes gleamed

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with exuberance of vitality and roguishness, and how ready was her reply when the boys teased her. One of them had tormented her more than the others; and, when he came in the evening and knocked at her window, she came out and sat with him on the bench every night.

Then came the war; and one sweltering day in August found him, her Mihai, gone. It was no use to cry. "And if I do not return?" he asked, and looked at her. "Then I, too, will die, Mihai!"

The cruel battle of Gravitza had passed, and he had sent news that he was alive and well. But no further tidings came. Anita watched the leaves fall and the heavy mists rise; then came the frost and snow, yet never a word reached her. At last, she could endure the anxiety no longer.

It was strictly forbidden for women to cross the Danube, but she found a means of evading the order. Hiring a wagon, she declared that she had transport service to perform and wandered to Plevna by the side of her little oxen. Carrying a bundle of clean linen for him, and a large melon on her head, and other fruits and bread in the bosom of her blouse, she passed through the camp, through the long trenches beneath the hail of the enemy's bullets, seeking her lover. Then, just at the moment when a man fell shot at her side, she heard that her Mihai had been wounded and carried to some unknown hospital. Pale and speechless, she stood in the icy water of the trenches. She did not even think of bending her head to escape from the bullets. "He got his feet frost-bitten here and a bullet in his shoulder," said one of his comrades; "but I do not know where they have taken him."

Turning away with a heart heavy as lead, she began to search the field hospitals, trembling at the miserable forms of the wounded who could not be moved. Her Mihai could not look like *that!* She was almost glad that she could not find him there. They told her that he would be in Metschka still; so to Metschka she went, barefooted, over the frozen ground, through the dense mist. He had been at Metschka, but had been moved further on to Turno Magurelli. But he was still alive; the bullet had been removed and half his foot taken off, but otherwise he was so far well. Anita wandered on to Turno Magurelli. The whole town had been transformed into a hospital. Going from one to another, she visited twenty hospitals in turn. At last she found out the one

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where he had been; but he had again been moved four days before to Craiova. With a sigh she resumed her bundle and took the road afresh. But he was not to be found in Craiova; he had gone with yesterday's batch of wounded to Bucharest, for there was no more room at Craiova.

In Bucharest, she asked her way from door to door. Every large house, every barrack and many a school was a hospital. At last, at last, she came to Cotroceni and the barracks of the Rifle Battalion, and at length received the answer, "Yes, he is here," in reply to her inquiries. She begged to be allowed to see him, to nurse him, if she might, and hesitatingly entered between the long rows of beds, guided by a friendly nun who bore the badge of the Red Cross on her arm. A lady with the Red Cross came up to her and said: "Here he is, dear child: you will find him changed!"

Indeed, she could hardly recognize him. Her knees shook on seeing him so pale,—wasted away like an old man. And, when he smiled at her, his smile seemed like a grimace. Oh, God! how should she bear her sorrow before so many people! Like a statue she stood by his bedside day and night, without even a thought of resting after her long wanderings. They had to force her to take a little nourishment. Out in the open, endless convoys from the far interior of Russia passed along in the deep mud of the softened roads; convoys of wounded from the battle-fields, convoys of captured Turks, starving, barefoot on the ice; convoys of sick, victims to typhus and frost-bite, and half-starved horses which fell a prey to the dogs and crows. Their red and ragged ribs pointed to the heavens, now dark with snow. Presently snow began to fall, as though the compassionate clouds wished to cover the miseries of friend and foe with the same soft, warm covering. Anita saw nothing of all this. Her eyes were only for the face of her Mihai, who lay there so patiently despite his sufferings, and who, when they asked him how he felt, always replied with the same patient word: "*Bine.*" In a whisper he told her how they had cut away half his foot without giving him enough chloroform, and how terribly he had suffered. Then tears rolled down her cheeks, and that was balm to his heart. They told her he was saved, he would not die. Her heart trembled with such joy that she could not even speak. The first time she saw his wounds, her face turned as white as snow. They gave her a draught of wine, and told her that was nothing, it would soon be all right, and she

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was to give him a spoonful of medicine to quiet him, if he seemed to be in great pain. He told her about Gravitza and showed her his decorations, though she could hardly bear to listen, so great was her terror. And yet she liked to hear his pale lips tell the story of his heroic deeds. Three bullets had passed through his cap without touching a hair of his head. "You see, if the dear God wills it, one has one's day!" he said. One night he was very unquiet, and bitterly complained of great pain in his shoulder and foot. "I was just going to be relieved, because my feet were frost-bitten after twenty-four hours in the trenches, and then the bullet came! Oh! can't you send me to sleep?"

Hastily seizing one of the medicine bottles in the uncertain light of the night lamp, she gave him a large spoonful and then stayed quite quiet so that he might get to sleep quickly. But he suddenly began to complain of pains in his stomach, and his face became distorted in the most terrible manner. The pains grew worse and worse, and he began to pant for breath. Greatly terrified, Anita awakened a nun who was dropping off to sleep on a wooden chair in the corner. She could not imagine what was the matter with him, and wanted to get some cloths warmed. But Anita, in her terror, ran and called the assistant surgeon to come at once, for God's sake, as Mihai was very ill. He looked at the patient and turned roughly to Anita: "What have you given him?" Anita pointed to the bottle. "My poor wretched child," he cried, "that is carbolic acid!" Anita stared at him as though she could not understand. "Is that very bad?" she whispered. "Bad? It is poison!" said the surgeon, and without troubling further about her, applied every conceivable remedy, but without success. The sick man was already in the throes of the most terrible death struggle. Anita held him in her arms, called him by his name, and prayed aloud. From time to time he made the sign of the cross, and not a word of reproach passed his lips. "And yet I never had my day, Anita," he said. As the dawn broke, he became very quiet and very heavy; and she sat quite still holding him in her arms without a word. She would not let him be taken from her until she was removed by force, that the body might be covered up and carried out. She followed them up to the door, and then, turning round, looked every one in the face and said, "Mihai." That was the only word she was capable of uttering. All others had vanished from her memory; and even that one

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word she used less and less often. Charitable people brought her to Goleschti. When her poor mother saw her only child in this pitiable state, she wept bitterly and loud; but Anita smiled, for in those three terrible hours she had drained the cup of earthly suffering. What she thought and felt no human being has ever learned, her suffering remains shrouded in silence, for God in His mercy had given her forgetfulness!

The recluse in the garden was thinking of this, as the procession came out into the sun again and moved towards the churchyard. Smilingly Anita hovered round the open grave, and looked down with curiosity in her beautiful soulless eyes, as all that was left to her was lowered into the earth. Then she wandered through the bystanders and ran back to the village, past the garden where the autumn leaves were still falling noiselessly and the gossamer was weaving a halo of light about the head of the recluse.

CARMEN SYLVA.

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WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: BERLIN: PARIS: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *September, 1904.*

SINCE Mr. Chamberlain, sixteen months ago, launched his Fiscal programme there have been twenty-three contested by-elections, and one uncontested. Of these twenty-four seats, seven only were held by the Liberals in May, 1903. To-day the position is almost precisely reversed. The Liberals now hold sixteen of the seats and the Tories eight. They have captured nine constituencies out of hand, and they have very considerably increased their majorities in the seats that were already theirs when Mr. Chamberlain turned his batteries on Free Trade. Altogether, the Liberal vote during the last sixteen months' campaigning has increased by nearly 30,000, while the Tory and Protectionist vote has remained little more than stationary, its total growth amounting to less than 1200. A year and more of heated Tariff controversy has taught Englishmen to suspect all figures, but there can, I think, be no mistaking the drift of these. The movement of events points with unescapable precision to a Liberal victory at the next General Election. There are some things even in politics, of which one can foresee the issue, though the manner and the time of their coming may be still uncertain; and this is one of them.

Whether Mr. Balfour dissolves Parliament or merely resigns; whether his self-destroying dexterity as a strategist—for it is rather as a House of Commons strategist than as a statesman that people now think of Mr. Balfour—will suffice to carry him on to 1906; or whether his pursuers will succeed in cornering him in the coming year, all this is at present unpredictable. But, whenever and however the battle is joined, its result is already taken for granted. The rashest Protectionist of them all is not so rash as to maintain any longer, even in public, that an election fought

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out primarily on the Free Trade issue and secondly on the Education Bill, which has restored political Non-conformity to life, on the Chinese Labor question, which has jarred on the moral sense of the country to a degree perhaps hardly warranted by the facts, and on the Licensing Bill, which the public at large looks upon as little less than the free gift of a national asset to the brewers, can end in anything but a Liberal victory. Mr. Chamberlain himself, whose sanguine, speculative temperament makes him the last man to admit an unpleasant fact, has admitted this; and his followers are now repeating it, as though it were the most natural thing in the world and as though all along they had never expected anything else. It is true they keep up a show of confidence; and with politicians on the brink of visible and immediate defeat, confidence always and necessarily takes the form of prophecies. If they agree, having no choice in the matter, to forego the present, they can at least claim the future as their own. This is what the Protectionists are now doing. I am never in their company without being assured that this is not a question to be settled by a single campaign, that "the big fight" will go on in spite of an initial set-back, and that the real battle, the real concentration of all the Protectionist forces, will take place at the election after next. Well, I have seen enough of politics to distrust any prophecies that are based on the election after next.

The Protectionist assumption, to which Mr. Chamberlain has given the frankest publicity, is that, as the upshot of the first appeal to the country, the Liberals will come into power; that their majority will be a small one and dependent upon the Irish vote; that the Home Rule question, the Education question—in which, it must be remembered, the Non-conformists, who are still the backbone of English Liberalism, take essentially opposite views to the Irish Catholics,—the weakness of Liberal policy in Foreign and Imperial issues, and the personal dissensions among the Liberal leaders will quickly bring the Government to the ground in confusion and ruin, and that a second General Election will then result in a handsome Protectionist majority. That is the plan to which Mr. Chamberlain, not without a certain hasty desperation, has now pinned his faith. It is not, of course, to be taken as implying a cessation of his activities, but merely a change in their character and direction.

The furious frontal assault on the Free Trade position has con-

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fessedly failed, and it is not likely that "the raging, tearing propaganda" that was convulsing the country a year ago will again be renewed with anything like its primal frenzy. Operations underground are now rather the order of the day, and Mr. Chamberlain, though he will from time to time address great public meetings, seems to have about made up his mind that he can most usefully promote his objects by perfecting and extending the Protectionist organization, and waiting for events to play into his hands. Waiting is an exercise as irksome to Mr. Chamberlain as to President Roosevelt, but to the problems of electioneering he applies himself with an American relish, an American grasp, and perhaps, too, with an American over-estimate of their importance. He has already captured the machinery of the Liberal-Unionist party; and, when the National Union of Conservative Associations meets in October, it will be found, I think, that his hand is not less firmly on the rudder of the Conservative vessel.

I must, however, again remind Americans that these opening successes, though perhaps indispensable to any final triumph, do not in themselves amount to much. The capture of the party organization is a very different thing from convincing the country. It is different even in America where the mechanism of politics is in the ascendant; it is still more different, and immensely less significant, in Great Britain, where there is nothing to correspond to the binding prerogatives and force of a National Convention, and where, in politics as in everything else, individualism is fiercely cultivated. Still, it means undeniably something that Mr. Chamberlain should have so successfully encountered the Free-Traders in his own party, should practically have driven them forth from its official councils, and should be in a position to dominate the organization of his Conservative allies. It may, perhaps, mean more than is generally foreseen. Last year the National Union of Conservative Associations was only held from siding openly with Mr. Chamberlain by the veiled threat of Mr. Balfour's resignation. There are those who think that this year it will undoubtedly go the whole distance, and that before October is out Mr. Balfour's submission to Mr. Chamberlain and to Mr. Chamberlain's policy will have been publicly made.

However that may be, it is clearly of the essence of Mr. Chamberlain's new plan to entrench himself as deeply as possible in the Unionist ranks, to seize, marshal and develop the fighting strength

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of the party organizations, to lose the next election—since lose he must—by as narrow a defeat as the utmost ingenuity can contrive, to employ his matchless abilities in Opposition to discredit and paralyze the Liberal Ministry, and finally, when he has succeeded in all this, to ride into power on a wave, if not of Protectionist enthusiasm, at least of disgust with Liberals and Liberalism. But for my present purpose the most important item in this spacious programme is Mr. Chamberlain's acknowledgment that a Liberal victory at the next election is unavoidable. I quite agree with him. To all appearances, something like a national call awaits the Liberal Party. So generally is this felt to be the case that the Party's condition to meet the call, and the probable policy and personnel of its Government, are already matters of discussion only less eager than that which centres on the Fiscal Question itself.

It is close on ten years since the Liberals were last in power. One great achievement and one greater event marked their term of office between 1892 and 1895. The achievement was Sir William Harcourt's Budget of 1894; the event was Mr. Gladstone's retirement and Lord Rosebery's accession to the Premiership. I need now do no more than briefly recall how the resignation of Mr. Gladstone, the withdrawal of his commanding authority, proved a signal for something like revolt to the incongruous elements that always and everywhere compose the Party of Progress; how the Radical section resented the advent of a Peer to the leadership; how another and larger section felt deeply aggrieved that Sir William Harcourt's claims to the Premiership had been passed over; how a bitterly personal quarrel broke out between Lord Rosebery and Sir William; how Lord Rosebery's attempt to carry out a policy he had not framed with a Cabinet that was none of his choosing led in 1895 to a severe disaster at the polls; how the line he took on the Home Rule question—his announcement that it could never be granted until England, "the predominant partner," was convinced of its justice and expediency—alienated his Irish allies; and how the Armenian massacres and the divisions they provoked in the Liberal ranks, ill-health, weariness and disappointment ended in 1896 with Lord Rosebery's retirement from the party leadership.

From 1895, when the Unionists came into power with a majority of 150, to 1902, when the Peace of Vereeniging was signed, the Liberals were in the abyss. Mr. Morley and Sir William Har-

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court withdrew from active politics, and the leadership of the party fell by a process of exhaustion on the shoulders of Earl Spencer in the House of Lords and of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the House of Commons. The Boer War, while it drew Lord Rosebery, Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt from their seclusion, only emphasized and accentuated the seemingly hopeless divisions that separated them and their followers. The Rosebery group, small in numbers but weighty in intellect and influence, substantially approved the war and supported the Government in prosecuting it. But by far the larger portion of the Liberal Party, headed by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, violently opposed and criticised not only the policy, or lack of policy, that led to the struggle, but the methods by which it was carried on. At the General Election of 1900, the country, as was to be expected, declared emphatically against them, and gave the Unionists a renewed lease of power with a majority of 130. At that moment, the bitterness of the average Englishman against the Liberals, and the bitterness among the Liberals themselves, reached their zenith.

I cannot say that since then the Liberal Party has been rehabilitated in the confidence of the country in any positive sense. Negatively, it has immensely profited by the blunders and inefficiency of the Government. The people are visibly turning to it less because they trust either its policy or its leaders than because they have learned wholly to distrust the present Ministry. Peace and the gradual disappearance of South Africa as an electioneering issue enormously eased the Liberal situation. The nation quickly made up its mind that full credit had been given the Government for its maintenance of British power in South Africa, and that henceforth it was to be judged solely by its domestic record.

They were still further helped by a long and exasperating succession of Unionist ineptitudes. The ghastly "revelations" that followed the conclusion of the war were alone enough to discredit any Government. The Buller affair, the Corn Tax, the Education Bill, Mr. Brodrick's Army scheme, the Whitaker-Wright business, and the Venezuelan mess fed the national resentment. There were times in 1902 when only the Irish votes saved the Government from defeat. Still more frequently there were times when a vigorous Opposition might have done enormous damage by leading the universal disgust inspired by some of the Ministerial acts.

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As no such Opposition existed, the country had to take the work of chastisement into its own hands. At by-election after by-election, throughout 1902 and the first few months of 1903, it smote the Government hip and thigh, and in spite of its huge majority the position of the Ministry, even then, was weak, if not absolutely precarious. Its strength was the measure of the Opposition's weakness, and conversely the strength of the Opposition, such as it was, so far from being positive and inherent, was no more than the reflex action of the Ministry's weakness. Up to the moment when Mr. Chamberlain broke into Protection a real Liberal unity was as far off as ever; and though the Government was palpably losing ground, no Liberal even for a moment dreamed of the possibility of victory at the next election.

To-day, superficially at any rate, all that is changed. The Liberals are again a united party, united by the overriding necessity of defending Free Trade. That union, daily cemented afresh by the prospect, or rather certainty, of victory, is sufficient, I think, to carry the Liberals through the next election, and to enable them to form a Government. Is it, however, strong and pervasive enough to enable them to form and carry out a policy? One must remember that the safeguarding of Free Trade is purely defensive work, work that will be done, if at all, at the polls and not in the House of Commons, and that the Liberals, once in office, cannot by any legislative measure strengthen or confirm the cause which has brought them into power. Their success will practically amount to a national vote in favor of letting things alone, and the achievement of it will be all the assistance that Free Trade needs or indeed is capable of receiving. The Liberals will, therefore, find after forming their Government that, so far as they are concerned and for the time being, the question of Free Trade, which brought them union and power, is settled, or rather has settled itself, and that there is nothing to be done, no bills to be brought forward, no measures to be proposed, that can in any way clinch the all-sufficing verdict of the polls. While restored to office, therefore, as Free-Traders, Free Trade cannot in the nature of things engage much of their time and activities, and it is in quite other fields that they will have to make their mark as legislators and administrators. And it is just here, of course, that Mr. Chamberlain is looking for an outbreak of the old friction and the old dissensions. The real question that has to be asked about

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the Liberal Party is this: Does the unity which has been effected by a common devotion to Free Trade extend to other issues and other policies, or are the Liberals, apart from this single question, just as fundamentally divided among themselves as ever?

To answer this question is exceedingly difficult. There are, however, certain rocks ahead of the Liberal vessel which may be specified. One of these is Lord Rosebery. Lord Rosebery is still, as he has been for years past, the puzzle of English politics. He is the one Liberal statesman of the day who has something of genius about him. He exercises over the imagination of the country a fascination which no mistakes seem wholly able to destroy. He makes speeches, he outlines policies, he emits explosive suggestions. There is an organization, the Liberal League, founded, if not in his interests, at least to popularize his views; and a certain number of Liberal M.P.'s, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Asquith, and Sir Edward Grey among them, undoubtedly look to him for leadership and advice. Yet I should hesitate to say that Lord Rosebery is either in politics or out of politics. Nobody knows, nobody even professes to know, whether he would be ready to take office in a Liberal Government. I do not believe that Lord Rosebery himself knows. He suffers from one of the most grievous defects that a politician can possess—he has no prejudices. He lacks, too, the gregarious instinct; he remains always an individual; his whole nature kicks against the pricks of party compulsion, against those compromises and small surrenders that make the party system possible; the party view is his view only when it precisely squares with his private judgment. No one was ever more surely smitten with the curse of dispassionateness. His intellectual honesty recoils from the extremes that a party demands; he sees both sides too clearly; all his mental instincts are at war with fanaticism, exaggeration or bias of whatever kind. Lord Rosebery is never so convinced of anything as to be able to drive from his mind whatever may be urged on the other side. He is incapable of being a thorough-going partisan; and this in politics is a handicap that nothing can quite overcome. There never has been, and there is never likely to be, a great political leader who was not on occasion a ferocious partisan. But Lord Rosebery cannot simplify himself to that extent. He cannot nail his colors to an inspiring prejudice or a stimulating half-truth; the consciousness that it is a prejudice, and not the whole truth, unnerves

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him. Moreover, he lacks imperiousness. He can lead only when others are ready and even anxious to follow; he cannot coerce a mutinous or discontented group into accepting his *ipse dixit*. He hates, and probably despises, the personal and contentious side of politics and the small arts of managing men. It is doubtful whether he would raise a little finger to make himself Premier again. It is true that not very long ago he asked Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey to pledge themselves not to take office under Lord Spencer; but, when both refused, he did no more. The whole nature of the man impels him to give up to mankind what was meant for his party.

Yet Lord Rosebery is still a great influence. Neither the country nor the party expects or even wishes that he will be the Premier of the new Liberal Ministry, but there would be a feeling of universal satisfaction and relief if he could be prevailed upon to accept the Foreign Secretaryship. He stands and always has stood for that "sane" Imperialism which it was never more necessary to emphasize than at this moment. He alone can clear the Liberal Party of its evil reputation—whether rightly or wrongly earned, I will not now inquire—for anti-nationalism, "Little Englandism" and indifference to the Empire. No man has stood out more strongly for the continuity of Foreign and Imperial policy, and with the question of Lord Milner's position—which, however, may, and as some think and many hope will, be solved by the offer of his resignation—and of the Chinese Labor Ordinance staring the new Liberal Ministry in the face, there is need enough for the preservation of a uniform and consistent policy. A great many Liberals would like to recall Lord Milner and repeal the Ordinance. Wiser counsels, I believe, will ultimately prevail, but there is always the danger that a Liberal Ministry may get out of touch with the rational but firmly Imperial sentiment of the nation; and against this danger Lord Rosebery's presence in the Cabinet is the only assurance that would satisfy the country.

But there is another and even more hazardous problem on which Lord Rosebery has taken a line of his own. I refer, of course, to the Home Rule question and the relations between the Liberal and Nationalist parties. Not only has he wiped the Gladstonian form of Home Rule from his slate, but both he and Mr. Asquith have declared that they would not take office in any Liberal Govern-

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ment that was tied down by contract to the Irish vote. That does not, of course, exclude cooperation with the Nationalists, but it does exclude any such alliance as bound the two parties together in 1892. Lord Rosebery's Irish policy, as it has been unfolded to me by his nearest and ablest lieutenant, is to wait on events, to determine how far the general situation has been changed by the workings of the Local Government Act and the Land Purchase Act, to extend and develop local self-government in Ireland as much as possible, to inquire into and wherever possible economize on the system of Dublin Castle rule, to encourage educational, industrial and agricultural development freely—in short, to advance step by step along the humble line of practical utility, and not waste time over "heroic" measures.

When this policy was first announced (towards the end of 1901), it was at once met by a declaration from Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that Home Rule was still a part of *his* programme; but, unquestionably, it is the Rosebery rather than the Campbell-Bannerman policy that commands the assent of most Liberals in or out of the House of Commons. The only difficulty is, How far will it satisfy the Irish? It is at this point that the size of the Liberal majority at the next election becomes crucially important. If it is so small that the Government is dependent for its very existence upon the Irish vote, Mr. Chamberlain's anticipations of a speedy collapse may yet be fulfilled. A clear (but somewhat unlooked-for) plurality over the Nationalists and Protectionists combined is the only guarantee that the Liberals will be able to develop an Irish or any other policy with real freedom. Again, there is more than a little peril lurking in the Liberal determination to amend the Education Act of 1902. Not only the Nationalists but the revolted Unionist Free-Traders, most of whom are strong High Churchmen, would be against them there. Moreover, it must be remembered that the Nationalists, in their action upon the course of English politics, are entirely detached and concerned solely with Irish interests. They will strike a bargain with any leader and any party that will do most to further their views of Irish needs; and if, as the result of the next election, they find themselves holding the balance of power between the Protectionists and the Free-Traders, it is not by any means certain—especially when one recalls Mr. Chamberlain's character and the desperate exigencies of his position—that they will neces-

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sarily throw in their lot with the Free-Traders. More attractive offers may quite conceivably be forthcoming from another quarter. The Liberal path, in default of an overwhelming majority, promises therefore to have its thorns and pitfalls, both personal and political. They have, however, plenty of young, able and energetic men to choose from; they have been ten years out of office, and may be presumed to have learned some of the lessons of adversity; the influence of those Unionists who for the sake of Free Trade have broken away from their own party will be of a restraining character; and the party as a whole is deeply conscious of the folly of an overloaded programme, heroic legislation and of committing itself hopelessly in advance. All this may help to pull them through.

BERLIN, *September, 1904.*

AT a time when the Premier of England has been descanting mellifluously upon the utter inability of science to find "ultimate criteria," and again in despairing accents upon his own and everybody else's inability to discover any remedy whatsoever to check the physical deterioration of the British people, it is refreshing to turn to the buoyant optimism of the Proletarian Parliament-elect which has just concluded its labors at Amsterdam—where the predominant note is hope, the watchword "endeavor," and criteria of life and science are found and formulated in a morning's sitting. Unusual interest attached to the Congress—the sixth International Socialist Congress that has sat since the Commune—because it was the first time that the leaders of the Social Democracy had been summoned from all parts of the globe, including Japan, to sit in judgment upon party tactics, and party leaders, and the infallibility of Karl Marx. In plain words, the Congress had to pronounce for or against the Reformist or Revisionist movement; and, as was to be expected, it decided by a nationality vote of 25 to 5, with 12 abstentions, for the orthodox class revolutionary programme. That is to say, opportunist or parliamentary tactics were condemned. A vote of censure was passed on M. Jaurès; and the doctrinaire propagandist Socialism of Marx and of modern Germany, with its formula of "class war," its doctrine of revolution, and its principle of relentless opposition to capitalism and to all compromise with the *Bourgeoisie,* was triumphantly acclaimed by the Assembly.

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Thus the International Tribunal has upheld the muzzling resolution passed last year at Dresden upon Bernstein, and subsequently by the Italians at Bologna. If it does not end a crisis, it forms an important landmark in it, and may mark a new era in the history of Socialism. It has shown that two Socialisms exist fundamentally incompatible the one with the other. For ideas cannot be coffined; and, though dogma has defeated rationalism, theory practice, adolescence youth, it may legitimately be doubted whether the pragmatic decision of the party as an International whole will exercise any serious restraining influence, at any rate in republican France, upon the parliamentary tactics of Jaurès or upon the man himself. Nevertheless, the vote of the most representative and collective body of men ever assembled together under the banner of Socialism in favor of "class" warfare, is a noteworthy one. Among other things, it shows that not only is Socialism the most powerful numerically in the country of the greatest autocratic ruler in Europe, but that it is also the most strenuous, the most vital intellectually, there.

Though the first note of discord was sounded by Bernstein, then living in enforced exile in England, only six years ago, the so-called revisionist movement has advanced almost as rapidly as the central movement itself. Naturally, its chief adherents are to be found in the countries where parliamentary government has been most developed, where the conditions of life are easier, where the monarchical principle is less pronounced. Thus there is no "rational" Socialism in Russia, and, on the other hand, practically no "revolutionary" Socialism in Great Britain. But, quite apart from the academic side of the question, there is unmistakable evidence that the masses,—M. Zola's "*Salariats*"—are growing less and less prone to revolutionary methods, and more and more reconciled to the principle of evolution. The old fetishist belief in the monarchical idea is rapidly dying out among the peoples of all nations; and with it the popular faith in violence, the idea of revolution as the only means to obtain the Socialist goal. And, though it is true that the power of monarchs tends to grow stronger precisely in countries where constitutional government has been freely adopted, this tendency is undoubtedly due to the same cause. Indeed, the masses would appear to be growing "softer," witness the fiasco of the General Strike in Belgium a year or so ago. The idea of the Divinity of Kings of necessity en-

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genders hatred and opposition, if only by contrast. When that idea has completely vanished, probably kings will sleep "the easier o' nights"; most certainly, one of the strongest incitements to revolution will have disappeared. But be that as it may, the last five years have wrought far-reaching changes in the minds of the people. The educational force of Socialism on the Continent has been prodigious. It has given the proletariat that great gift, freedom of thought. The sacrosanctity of majesty, of aristocracy, of class rule, of religion, are things he no longer believes in. The humblest neophyte to Socialism has learned to think of himself as a human being, with a will to live and think independently. He no longer fears God or man. But he has also become less able to suffer for either. And so, naturally enough, the doctrinaire Socialism of Marx, with its hard and fast dogmas and fatalistic teaching, has ceased to exercise the magic power of old. Some have begun to doubt, and many have seen that what is applicable in one country is not at all so in other countries where conditions and institutions are fundamentally different. Thus the reformist idea has grown and spread.

In the region of criticism, Bernstein has been engaged in probing, analyzing and dissecting Marxian Socialism; in exposing gray theories, in demolishing the Ikons of dogma, in tearing down the cherished idols of the "Blanquist" or ultra-revolutionary section. He has been four times solemnly impeached, and last year was very nearly ejected from the party. If he has no personal following, he has found partisans, independent supporters, men like Von Vollmar, Auer, David, Schippel (to mention only a few) who work in the same direction. But he is lacking in fibre as a man, is no orator, no leader of men. And, as a result, his work so far has been of an entirely negative character. Though there unquestionably exists a revisionist movement in Germany, there is no recognized leader, or programme, or party; and so the solidarity of the party remains unimpaired by Bernsteinism; and, so long as present conditions in the Empire obtain, neither Bernstein nor any other leader of the opportunist's section are at all likely to gain any marked influence. In France it has been otherwise. There criticism has been silent, but practical action all the more pronounced. A Socialist enters the Ministry, sits by the side of General de Gallifet, and bows low before the Tsar. Jaurès lunches with the King of Italy, and supports the Government

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loyally at times in defiance of republican traditions; finally, he overtly counsels his party to accept office when attainable and cooperate with the *bourgeois* parties. In a word, Jaurès has become a sort of John Burns in his own country, and has completely broken with the principles and traditions of Continental Socialism, which is International and violently opposed to national continuity, Particularism, and Individualism in any form whatsoever. The example of the French reformists has been followed in Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, and naturally in England with more or less success; and there can be no doubt that, on the eve of the Amsterdam Congress, the issue was not so much whether Socialism was to abandon its revolutionary character and adopt evolutionary methods, but, rather, whether the independence of the Proletarian party, as a class, was to be upheld or abandoned in favor of alliance and fusion with the *Bourgeoisie*. This the International Council at Amsterdam has decreed against resolutely. Though this decision is by no means final, there is no gainsaying the fact that the reformist movement has been condemned: twice nationally, in Germany and Italy, and now internationally by the plenary Court at Amsterdam. Logically, the reformist movement, after five years of agitation, has thus proved a failure. The question, which time alone can solve, is: Will this be the case?

It is worth noting that the Congress dealt exclusively with the parliamentary tactics of Jaurès, and not at all with Bernstein, who, as before said, was virtually disabled at last year's Congress at Dresden. Nothing can better illustrate the solidarity, the intellectual power, of the movement than the mere fact, remarkable enough in these days of universal parliamentary decadence, that nearly 500 delegates, recruited for the most part from the lower classes—men of such varied hue and temperament as Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Austrians, Spanish, English, and Japanese—should be able to meet together, discuss, and settle the most complex and conflicting problems affecting theory and practice, swiftly, decorously, and definitively, without a trace of personal or national recrimination. There was the intellectual Socialism of France pitted against the rude dogma of Germany; the incisive logic of Jaurès against the hurricane anathemas of the former wheelwright, Bebel. Germany triumphed; yet the President did not once have to intervene. Throughout the fierce oratorical duel

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between the foremost speakers of France and Germany, who attacked one another with all the dialectical force and eloquence at their disposal, not one jarring note was struck. The two men sank into the two ideas they represented. It was an assembly dominated by ideas. It may be questioned whether the same could be said of any other International parliament of men living. Never before has Bebel had to face so formidable an adversary. "You think," said Jaurès, in one of the greatest speeches he ever delivered, "that the rules applying to Germany should necessarily apply to France and elsewhere, but, though you are a splendid propagandist party, you are none the less doomed to political incapacity. You lack the two means essential to action—the tradition of revolution and parliamentary force. You did not win your suffrage, as we did, on the barricades; and your vote in the Reichstag is powerless, because your Ministers are irresponsible and your Emperor is omnipotent. You cannot advance or make any proportionate use of your power. You screen your own weakness behind the veil of dogma, and you seek to condemn the Socialists of all other countries to inaction because you and your party are forced by the condition of things in your own country to momentary impotency. You do not understand parliamentary life as it exists in England, in France, and Belgium and Switzerland, because you are hidebound by your own institutions and have not the means to alter them." This is, of course, unanswerably true. But it is a negation of the "class war" formula, which is the cardinal thesis of Marxian Socialism, and unquestionably the key to its success. And Bebel could retort with justice that opportunist tactics, as practised in countries of an advanced democratic type, dulled the class spirit of hostility to Capital, which, as it is the main characteristic of modern times, will in the future be the decisive factor in the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes. The goal is economic, not political, though the means to that end lead largely through political channels. The question at issue between the Socialism of Bebel and that of Jaurès is not so much concerned with the means to the end as with the end itself. As Bernstein once wrote: "The end is nothing, the movement everything." And, from the purely Socialist point of view, it is a very moot point whether the action of the reformists in turning themselves into a radical parliamentary party may not result in their involuntary fusion in, and ab-

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sorption by, the *Bourgeoisie,* whose interests—those of Capitalism —they will support, and whose dupes they will finally be. Can the Proletarian party ever hope to obtain its goal by adopting the methods, say, of the English Labor Representation Committee—independence with cooperation? And, if so, why is it that in England, which has a larger derelict population than any other country in Europe, pure Socialism can hardly be said to exist? It is because the "class" formula is tabooed as being incompatible with parliamentary tradition. It has been said that every country has the Socialists it deserves. Which is unquestionably true. But it should not be overlooked that Continental Socialism is international, and that the interests of the proletariat, as of capitalists, are the same all the world over. It may be that the ideas of Jaurès will prevail some day in central Europe, and that the laboring classes will obtain some of their legitimate wants by the legitimate means of self-help and legislation. But will they ever, by parliamentary representation, obtain a legitimate share in the profits of labor? That is the point which the reformists ignore, because the end with them has ceased to be the object of their attention. Eliminate "class war" from Marxian Socialism, and the whole edifice falls to the ground. It becomes a doctrine without a creed. On that formula Socialism, in its economic sense, must, it would seem, ultimately stand or fall.

Meanwhile the unity of Socialism has once more been declared. Whether it will endure seems highly doubtful. Probably the reformist movement will grow within and without the central movement until the moment arrives when further attempts at reconciliation and reunion will appear senseless and undignified. In that case there would be two quite distinct homogeneous Socialisms—the one representing the lower *Bourgeoisie,* the other, by far the most powerful, the class interests of the masses.

PARIS, *September, 1904.*

WHEN M. Waldeck-Rousseau, in 1900, first read his Bill on Association, which was soon to become a Bill on Religious Associations, he was probably more favorably disposed towards religion and the religious Orders than the Ministers of the *roi très chrétien,* Louis Philippe, who were so scared at the appearance of Lacordaire in the white robe of a Preaching Friar. He shared, of course, the

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secular ideas about the mutual position of Church and State; he wanted the clergy to keep to their own sphere, and that sphere he probably took to be exclusively pastoral duties, for he publicly objected to clerical education. But, whereas he insisted on a radical separation between the two powers, he bore no ill-will to the free development of religious institutions within the Church: otherwise, he would not have admitted even the notion of a monastic order. His friends, several monks among the number, will have it that his real aim was to secure the existence of the Orders against the attacks in the future which everybody foresaw. So he was by no means opposed to the ideal of Christian life embodied in the monastic life. Only he was endeavoring to regulate the existing associations—the religious orders being uppermost in his thoughts—and he could not but consider their legal status. Of the fifteen hundred congregations settled on French territory, about one-half were legally authorized, *i. e.*, had obtained, on examination of their object and regulations, official recognition. The rest only enjoyed the toleration which their good works were certain to assure them. It was especially with these seven or eight hundred unauthorized orders that the new law was concerned.

What were M. Waldeck-Rousseau's intentions with regard to them? We know them with certitude. He had no sympathy with the Jesuits, and he felt an especial dislike against one particular Order, the Assumptionists, whom he once described as "trading, plotting monks." About these his mind was evidently made up. There was also a clause in the bill which its author must have known to be irreconcilable with the continuation of the more important Orders. The Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, etc., are responsible only to the Pope and highly value their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. Now, M. Waldeck-Rousseau wanted all Orders to be in future under the Bishops who should answer to the Government for their action. This condition, of course, made authorization an impossibility for those who could not renounce their privilege. In spite of this unfortunate circumstance, it seemed that the Bill was bringing the Orders, which the Concordat had ignored, under the protection which the Concordat gave to the Bishops and secular clergy, and M. Waldeck-Rousseau could say that he was really giving the monks and nuns their saving charter. For there was little doubt that the congregations that applied for authorization would easily get it, and they were

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by no means degrading themselves by submitting to a measure which, excepting one accidental clause, was only the common law of the land. The exception in the bill to which I am alluding, in fact, betrayed a distrust of the Orders which was not in keeping with the rest of M. Waldeck-Rousseau's liberal dispositions. Whereas authorization could only be granted by an act of Parliament, after a debate in the Chamber or Senate, the same could be repealed by a decree of the Council of Ministers; that is to say, it took the consent of the country as represented by Parliament to give legal existence to a religious association, but an arbitrary act of the Government was enough to suppress it. This was certainly not democratic. However, broadly speaking and paying special attention to its initiator's intentions, the act of 1901 might be said to proceed from a spirit nearly akin to that in which Napoleon had framed the Concordat: it was a homage to religion and, at the same time, a barrier against clericalism.

So, at the end of 1901, the views of the Government in connection with Catholicism were, on the whole, hardly different from those which prevailed in the days when the sovereign could be on his guard against episcopal influence, without disbelieving a syllable in the Bishops' teaching. In May of the following year, the general election took place. M. Waldeck-Rousseau resigned, and M. Combes came into office. This event brought about a complete change in ecclesiastical policy. M. Waldeck-Rousseau was not a statesman of the first order, but he had a comprehensive intellect, wide political experience, and the tinge of scepticism which people occasionally noticed in him served at least to differentiate him from the partisan. M. Combes was known as a doctrinaire, a man who had started with the narrowest Catholic philosophy and had reached the other extreme without ever enlarging his speculative outlook. He was well acquainted with educational and naval questions, but he had hardly had any experience of government, having been Minister of Education only for a few months; and one had reason to suspect he would treat politics as a purely speculative matter. This forecast proved true, in so far as the Premier never swerved from the line he had drawn for himself, viz., fierce anti-clericalism to the exclusion of everything else; but M. Combes surprised both friends and enemies by an adroitness in difficult emergencies which nobody expected from him. He seems to have viewed his rôle not as that of the re-

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sponsible statesman, who has a policy of his own and fights to make it prevail, but as that of the subordinate who sticks to his orders and, by hook or by crook, by violence or by dexterity, carries them out. It was M. Waldeck-Rousseau's bitterest sorrow in his dying months to see the law he designed as an instrument of justice become one of narrow partisanship.

The reader remembers how the Association Law was applied; one should rather say how it never was applied. Each demand for authorization was to be separately examined by the Chamber or Senate. M. Combes decided that all the applications should be thrown into three divisions, and *not* examined separately but accepted or rejected bodily. The ballot on this interpretation showed a decrease of the ministerial majority to sixteen votes instead of about seventy, and elicited a public protest from M. Waldeck-Rousseau: but the congregations were none the less dispersed and their property confiscated. For this confiscation no satisfactory reason was ever given. On the contrary, the ingrafted hostility against all Orders, charitable as well as contemplative, evidenced in the vote, found hundreds of apologists in Parliament and in the press. These men have turned with equal success two opposite theories against the congregations; and the evolution from one to the other accounts for much we see and anticipates a great deal of what is to come.

Under the *ancien régime,* the doctrine of Divine Right made the King's will absolute and final. Against this absolutism popular feeling rebelled for centuries, till it was eventually blown away at the Revolution. Then for the Rights of the King were substituted the Rights of Man. The foundation of this famous declaration—still placarded in every school and town hall of France—lies in Rousseau's dogma of man's natural goodness and his claim to complete liberty in order to develop his faculties. This means individualism, or, as it is called, Liberalism. Man is entitled to as much freedom as will not be hurtful to his neighbor. This notion, at first sight, seems to favor a toleration of monasticism, as a man may apparently be a monk if he pleases. Not so, argue the champions of the Rights of Man: nobody ought to be suffered to renounce his own personality by taking the vows of poverty, obedience and chastity. The conclusion was that M. Combes had been a champion of liberty and a redeemer of slaves in refusing authorization to the monks who applied for it. Another corollary

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was that his duty was, moreover, to revoke the authorization from the Orders which were in enjoyment of it. The principle—strictly a jurist's principle—of the Act of 1901 was against this further step, but the Premier ought not to forget that the Act contained a clause empowering the Cabinet to withdraw authorization when they chose; and, besides, M. Combes was already persuaded that another Bill could easily be introduced to amend the Act. In March of the present year, a bill was read depriving the authorized teaching Orders of their legal existence. It was passed in July, and the process of expulsion was immediately resumed.

As the "arraignment of immorality" can be hurled against the charitable and contemplative congregations, just as well as against those employed in education, we can look upon monasticism as virtually a thing of the past in France.

Monasticism being condemned in the name of Liberalism, is the religious question at last settled? It appears that it is only opened. Besides the regular or conventual, there are the secular or parochial, clergy, on the legal position of whom another philosophy is brought to bear. We are only entering upon another stage of the anti-clerical campaign. Liberalism and the Rights of Man were scarcely mentioned during the debate on the teaching Orders to which I referred above. Another doctrine, widely different, is now taken for granted. For some years we have been treated in the special reviews to discussions of the disastrous economical consequences of Liberalism. From those periodicals the mistrust spread to metaphysical and political magazines. It has been asserted that the individual has no rights, as he lives in society, is part and parcel of society, and can only speculatively be said to be an individual at all. Society alone has rights and communicates them to its members, as it thinks advisable. A Toulouse professor, M. Bouglé, has upheld this doctrine in a book which M. Faguet, the French academician, refutes in his volume on Liberalism. As may be imagined, there is a good deal of hair-splitting in those very speculative pages, as the duties of society eventually prove to be very much the same thing as the ousted rights of the individual. But hair-splitting would be poor work in a Parliament, and the French deputies rest satisfied with the new formula that nobody has any rights but society, or, as they very inaccurately interpret it, the State. The reason for depriving the congregations of the right of teaching was not only that their vows

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rendered them immoral and dangerous to youth, but chiefly that the right of teaching is invested in the State, is no natural claim of the individual citizen, and can be conceded or revoked at pleasure.

But if this be admitted, M. Jaurès and M. Buisson urged, why not withdraw the permission of teaching from the secular clergy, who conduct about half of our secondary schools? Their reasoning is cogent, and although the law of 1852 on the liberty of teaching had been confirmed by the Senate in the spring of this year, M. Combes only postponed not an answer but the fulfilment of his promise, till after the separation of Church and State. The tendency to secularize the school and the hospital, and to confine Christianity to its place of worship, is therefore visible.

What is the situation of the Church to be when she is thus restricted to her primary object? If the Concordat were not on the eve of disappearing, we should only have to say that the Church would be in exactly the same position as in 1802, when there were no religious Orders, no clerical schools, and when the clergy, weakened and thinned by ten years' persecution, had enough to do to serve the parochial churches. She would be in regular intercourse with Rome through a Nuncio and Bishops appointed by the Pope on the one hand, supported and, to a certain extent, controlled by the State on the other. But disestablishment is no longer a castle in the air. To-day, the recall of the French Ambassador from Rome and of the Nuncio from Paris necessitates a radical solution. The Church must be before many months separated from the State, and the question now is: What is the situation to be after that separation?

In America, where individualism and Liberalism are living facts and not subject-matter for metaphysicians, the average reader understands the term "Catholic Church" as standing for the collectivity of Roman Catholics, flock as well as Bishops. Catholicism appears as a doctrine and a way of life which a man chooses for himself, and follows. In France the term only means the governing body, *i. e.*, the Bishops and priests. It is never used in the Chamber in another sense. The citizen as a believer never occurs to the parliamentary mind. It is just the reverse in England when the legislator thinks of the Wesleyans or Presbyterians: he knows he deals rather with individuals than with a community. The French notion results from the religious indifference of most members of the Parliament, the faithful mirror in this of most of

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the electorate, and also from the recollections of a time when the Church was one of the Three States and the greatest power in the country. Its first consequence is that the Church is regarded, even by moderate Republicans, as a weakened but still dangerous influence. Napoleon, who thought the clergy indispensable allies of his restorative policy, never viewed them as citizens in the full enjoyment of their rights (the liberal concept), but as *fonctionnaires* whom he chose, paid and made use of.

Of the deputies who will soon decide on a new legal status for the Church of France, at least a third—most of M. Méline's former party—hold the same Gallican opinions. Liberals though they be, an inveterate habit will cause them still to look upon the Church as a more or less necessary State institution. The denunciation of the Concordat means for them forty million francs saved yearly, not the liberty of the citizens who henceforward will have to find the money. They have never found fault with the restrictive clauses in the Concordat (those, for instance, prohibiting a Bishop from travelling outside his diocese to visit a brother or even the Pope, or forbidding the publication of a papal document without special permission); and they would be disturbed if the clergy were suddenly given the liberty of, say, a vast commercial association. In their hearts French legislators always lean towards the absolute sovereignty of the State. So, at best, the future position of the Church would not be very different from what it has been so far. But the moderate deputies whose tendencies I am describing are only a section of the Chamber, and most of them in the minority. The Radicals call them "reactionaries" and "Jesuits in disguise," and the Radicals will eventually pass the Disestablishment Act in the form they please. Now—judging by the most intelligent and fairest, though the most violent, of them, M. Clémenceau—they will do their utmost to keep the clergy in its present dependence on the State, and at the same time to isolate them from the Pope, whom they insist on calling—I am only quoting polite language—"a foreign monarch." It cannot be doubted that they would gladly welcome a national or schismatic church. It cannot be doubted either that the present Government cherishes the same hope. By taking the side of the two Bishops whom the Pope wanted to try for alleged misconduct, M. Combes removed all doubt of his real intentions. Therefore we must expect some anti-Roman paragraphs in the Act. They do not appear

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in the bill as drawn up by M. Briand, but they are very likely to be inserted in the course of the debate, and the Radicals will evidently maintain that the "foreign monarch," whose utterances could not be made public in France when he had an ambassador there, will have less title than ever to speak authoritatively. I wish I had more space in which to give some idea of the bill. Its trend will be plainly seen when I say that the clergy will not even be allowed to buy their churches back, nor to rent them for a longer tenure than five years, nor to own other property than stock, and no more capital than will be necessary for their expenditure; finally, they will not be at liberty to say what they please in their churches, and a scale of fines is provided for language that may be deemed offensive. We are far from M. Waldeck-Rousseau's ideal.

Yet the Socialistic friends of the Premier would like something more, and we must own they are true to logic. Their charge of immorality falls as well on the seculars—since they take the vow of perpetual celibacy — as on the Regulars. Their primary doctrine, that earth must become an Eden, is also contradicted by the Christian dogma of suffering and probation here below to secure happiness in the hereafter. In truth, they simply long for a revolution in the discipline and teaching of the Church, and as they doubt its possibility, they would gladly revert to the sweeping methods of their ancestors, the Revolutionists, and have done with Christianity altogether. We remember their outcry when M. Combes once asserted his belief in the spirituality of the soul, and we have not forgotten M. Jaurès's fierce attack against the Gospel, which, he says, contains implicitly even the Syllabus. Their aim is, after getting rid of the monastic orders, the clerical schools, the Concordat and Roman influence, to get rid, at last, of all Christian teaching and worship. To this extremity the logic of anti-clericalism pushes them.

Will M. Combes follow the Socialists so far, or will they be content with the suppression of the Concordat and the establishment of as national a church as possible? If they should insist on the more radical measures, M. Combes would be doomed at once. But they have learned to be content with a little when they cannot get much, and they will probably put up with an enslaved church till they see their way to "no church at all." In spite of the undisguised hostility of such formidable rivals as MM. Mille-

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rand and Doumer, I shall not be greatly surprised if the Premier finds himself safe on the other side of the worst difficulty he ever encountered. But it will be his last success. For the incline down which he rolls brings him to a turning-point where the Socialists will place him face to face with economical reforms impossible to a *bourgeois,* and then we shall see either a reaction with M. Doumer or M. Rouvier, or a revolution with M. Jaurès.

WASHINGTON, *September, 1904.*

SINCE the adoption of the gold standard in the United States was definitely settled in 1900 by a second pronouncement at the ballot-box, no American question has deserved so much attention on the part of thoughtful men in European capitals as the question whether President Roosevelt or Judge Parker will occupy the White House during the four years beginning March 4, 1905. The question includes three inquiries, none of which can be answered until the decision of the voters shall be known. Is the Dingley tariff to be maintained substantially intact during the next Presidential term, or is it to undergo material alterations through revision and reciprocity? Will the American people proclaim a fixed determination to retain possession permanently of the Philippines, or will they announce a purpose of treating them as Cuba has been treated, and, consequently, of giving them absolute independence at an early date? A renunciation of the islands would involve, we scarcely need to say, the removal of the United States from the list of Powers deeply interested in the future of China. In the third place, will the Monroe Doctrine receive during the coming quadrennium the construction and expansion which Mr. Roosevelt has given it by deed and word, or will it be applied on the narrower lines approved by a series of Democratic Presidents from the original propounder of the doctrine to the author of the Venezuela Message. A good deal of light is cast on these inquiries by the acts and declarations of Mr. Roosevelt's Administration, by his speech of acceptance and his letter of acceptance, and by the platform framed for the Republican party at Chicago. From the opposite political quarter some illumination is shed by the platform put forward by the Democratic National Convention, and by its nominee's speech of

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acceptance, which presently will be supplemented by a letter of acceptance, not published at the hour when we write. With all of these data before them, foreign observers should be able to judge what the outcome of our approaching general election will signify from the view-point of world-politics.

Great Britain, Germany and France, our principal competitors in the export of manufactured articles, are particularly concerned with the effect which the coming election may have upon our tariff. It is a mistake to assume that the triumph of Judge Parker at the ballot-box would have no fiscal consequences, owing to the fact that his Republican opponents are practically certain to command a majority in the Federal Senate during the next four years. Political history warrants the belief that, if the popular verdict should be in Judge Parker's favor, the revisionists within the ranks of the Republican party itself, who have been temporarily silenced, would make themselves heard in Massachusetts, on the one hand, and in Iowa and other Western States, on the other, and would call in such peremptory tones for changes in the free list and in certain schedules of the Dingley tariff, that a sufficient number of their Senators, though ostensibly Republican, might feel constrained to vote with their Democratic colleagues, and thus secure the enactment of the desired measure. It is quite conceivable that peremptory instructions to that end might be given by the Legislatures of Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan and Massachusetts. Much the same thing may be said of reciprocity, should the Democrats be successful at the polls. In that event, the General Court, as the Legislature of Massachusetts is termed, would be almost certain to order its representatives in the Federal Senate to vote for a reciprocity treaty with Canada, and her example would be likely to be followed in some other States. If Mr. Roosevelt, on the other hand, should be chosen Chief Magistrate, no early and drastic revision of the Dingley tariff need be looked for, and the conclusion of a reciprocity treaty with any foreign country is exceedingly improbable. We are, practically, debarred from making any agreement of the kind with *sugar-producing* countries, because the dominant element in the Republican party loaded the Cuban reciprocity treaty with a stipulation that the Dingley tariff should remain intact as regards all other purveyors of sugar. A reciprocity treaty with Canada or with Newfoundland would not, on that score, be impracticable,

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but would be strenuously resisted on other grounds by the high-protectionists, who proved at Chicago that they control the Republican party. Great Britain has a special reason for viewing with anxiety the bearing which our Presidential election may have on the prospects of reciprocity treaties with Canada and Newfoundland. The conclusion of such treaties would tend to cause the inhabitants of those self-governing colonies to repel the overture made in the preferential tariff urged by Mr. Chamberlain.

Not only China and Japan, but Russia, Great Britain, Germany and France are manifestly concerned to know whether the Philippines are to remain permanently in American hands. If the United States are to continue for an indefinite period to be a Far-Eastern Power, we cannot well escape entanglement in the affairs of neighboring countries, and our fleets and armies are likely to be so increased as to become potential factors in the settlement of controversies affecting the Pacific coast of Asia. If, on the other hand, we should decide to evacuate the Philippine Archipelago, we should no longer feel called upon to maintain a naval or military force in the Pacific, except so far as a few warships might from time to time be needed to enforce observance of our commercial treaties. In England and Japan, our retirement from that quarter of the globe would be witnessed with regret; while it might be viewed with satisfaction in Russia, Germany and France, which recognize the sincerity of our desire to uphold the territorial integrity and political stability of China.

Foreign observers who would like to forecast the effect of our forthcoming election on our Philippine policy, may do well to note the material change which has taken place in the attitude of both our chief political parties toward this question since 1900. A Washington correspondent of the New York "Evening Post" has pertinently recalled that, four years ago, the chief Republican argument for the retention of the Philippines was that every vote cast for Bryan would be interpreted by the insurrectionists in the archipelago as a vote of sympathy, and that, hence, to uphold American sovereignty and American dignity, to say nothing of relieving American soldiers from unnecessary danger, it was indispensable to support the Republican ticket. No such claim now can be or is put forward by the Republicans, because no insurrectionists exist. The principal issue as regards the Philippines seems to be over a declaration of purpose as to the future of

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the islands. The Republican platform draws attention to the fact that the Filipinos have already received an instalment of self-government, and promises that a larger and larger measure of home rule shall be accorded to them, in proportion as they show themselves qualified to profit by it. It is tacitly assumed, however, that our Federal Government is to be the sole judge of the approach of the islanders to fitness to care for their own affairs. It is also to be borne in mind that the Republican platform refrains from intimating that, at any time or under any circumstances, absolute independence will be granted to the Philippines. The Democratic platform, on the other hand, as interpreted and supplemented by a subsequent utterance of Judge Parker's, does make such a promise; and it is a fair inference from the known sincerity of the Democratic nominee that, if successful at the ballot-box, he would make an earnest effort to carry the promise out. Whether he would succeed in doing so is doubtful, for the reason that, not only his fellow Democrats, but their Republican opponents are divided on the question.

The same correspondent of the "Evening Post," whom we have previously mentioned, points out that it is impossible to reconcile the expressed views of ex-Secretary of War Root, of the present Secretary of War Taft, of President Roosevelt and of others who have some intimate acquaintance with the problem, on the one hand, and the bold declarations, on the other, of certain Western Republican Conventions in support of the permanent retention of the Philippines at all hazards. It is doubtful whether the employers of the phrase "at all hazards" are alive to the gravity of the economic issues that the retention of the islands may involve. There is no doubt that many Republicans, as well as almost all Democrats, will eventually ask why the United States should contribute out of their Federal Treasury for all sorts of services in the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, when those countries pay no revenue to the United States. The Philippine scouts, which are displacing the United States army in the Philippines, are paid out of War Department appropriations. The Philippine Census has been almost wholly paid for by the United States. Various services are maintained on a half-and-half basis, our Federal Treasury contributing a moiety of the cost. How long will our taxpayers consent to do this, in view of the fact that the Philippines pay nothing to our national exchequer. Of course, they

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could be made to pay something by including them in our tariff system, as we should be at liberty to do after the expiration of the ten-year period stipulated in the Treaty of Paris. It is extremely improbable, however, that either political party would deliberately advocate the "closed door" in the Philippines, for this would involve a repudiation of our persistent declarations with regard to China. Then, again, our taxpayers are likely to ask whether it is worth while to go on increasing our navy for the purpose, largely, of protecting an archipelago which is a drain upon our financial resources. The Republican Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives was credited some months ago with an estimate, which must be deemed conservative, that a naval establishment two-thirds as great as it now is would suffice to defend the United States, if we should get rid of the Philippines. These economical arguments against the retention of the islands may be recognized as potent, even in times of peace. They are reinforced by the forecast of the tremendous sacrifices that we might have to make in order to protect the islands, should a determination to conquer them be evinced by Japan, or by some other Power with naval stations in the Far East.

We pass to the third inquiry of interest to the outside world, the inquiry, namely, how our application of the Monroe Doctrine may be affected by the outcome of our general election. The view of the doctrine which would be taken by Judge Parker may easily be defined, for it would differ not a whit from that exemplified in Mr. Cleveland's second Administration. That is to say, a Democratic President would not permit a European Power to acquire territory belonging to a Latin-American Republic on the plea of readjusting boundaries, or on any other pretext whatever. On the other hand, he would not interpose to shield a Latin-American Republic from the attempt of a European Power to exact reparation for an insult to its flag, or for injury to its official representatives, or for an act of violence committed against the person or property of a subject or citizen; provided the reparation exacted did not take the form of territorial dismemberment, or of such permanent or prolonged crippling of the wrong-doer's financial resources as practically would, in Monroe's words, "control her destiny." It is equally certain that a Democratic President would draw a sharp distinction between wrongs or *torts*, on the one hand, and debts arising out of contract, on the other, to

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which latter class of obligations he would probably hold the maxim "*caveat emptor*" applicable. He certainly would not countenance an attempt to enforce by a blockade, or by a protracted occupation of custom-houses, the virtual confiscation of an American republic's revenues, merely because default had been made in the payment of the principal or interest of a debt, the outcome of a transaction into which the foreign creditor entered with his eyes wide open. Much less would he *coöperate* in an effort thus to compel the liquidation of a civil indebtedness, or himself play the part of debt-collector in the interest of a foreign creditor. Yet such an extraordinary expansion, not to say distortion, of the doctrine formulated by Monroe seems to be deliberately contemplated by President Roosevelt, if we may judge from the ominous statement made by him in a letter read at the "Cuban Dinner." In that letter he said that, if a nation acts with decency in *industrial* and political matters, if it keeps order and *pays its obligations,* then *it need fear no interference from the United States.* The obvious inference is that, if a Latin-American Republic should *not* act with decency in industrial matters, and pay its obligations, then it would have cause to dread interference from the United States, which, as the President seems to assume, would arrogate the right of defining what constitutes decency and obligations. Mr. Roosevelt has also said, with reference to the Latin-American republics, that whoever claims liberty as a right must accept the responsibilities that go with the exercise of the right. Is the payment of debts arising out of contract one of the responsibilities which, if undischarged, would justify a President of the United States in permitting the delinquent commonwealth to pass into the hands of a receiver, or, in other words, to undergo the fate of Egypt? It seems incredible that Mr. Roosevelt can have weighed the significance of his words. But there they stand; and, if they mean anything, they mean that Mr. Roosevelt, if he continues in the White House, would either permit a foreign creditor, like Germany, for example, to Egyptianize a debtor-State in Latin America, or that, on the creditor's behalf, he would himself undertake the Egyptianizing process. The suggestion that an American Chief Magistrate should make himself a sheriff, and receive for European creditors at the expense of the political or financial independence of an American republic, would have sent a shiver of horror through the late James Monroe.

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BARON KENTARO KANEKO
is a distinguished member of the Japanese House of Peers. He studied at Harvard, where he graduated in 1878, and from which he received the degree of LL.D. when he revisited the United States in 1899. For some years he was Professor of Law in the Imperial University at Tokio. Having entered the public service of his country, he rose to the position of Minister of State for Agriculture and Commerce; he has also been Minister of Justice and Chief Secretary of the House of Peers. The Baron is at present in the United States making a study of American economic conditions.

YVES GUYOT,
who is now travelling in this country, has been a member of the French Chamber of Deputies, and he was for several years Minister of Public Works. He is one of the leading Free-Traders of France and a strong supporter of the Anglo-French *entente*. He was an outspoken friend of Japan at the very beginning of the present war, and he is still almost the only Frenchman who writes in the Paris daily press against the cause of Russia.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY,
who has been Attorney-General of Great Britain since 1900, represents the Inverness Burghs in Parliament. He is a native of Edinburgh, and studied in the Academy and the University of that city. He was called to the bar in 1867. From 1875 to 1900, he was Solicitor-General.

JOHN J. ESCH
represents the seventh district of Wisconsin in Congress. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1882, and took his degree in law in 1887. He has been personally in-

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terested for years in the affairs of the National Guard. For some time he commanded a company in the third regiment of the Wisconsin National Guard, and in 1894 he was appointed Judge-Advocate-General. He is a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the House of Representatives.

FIONA MACLEOD

published her first book in 1894, and since then there has been much speculation as to her personality, which has resulted in a number of myths, more or less amusing and absurd. The changing rumor went that she was William Sharp, that she was Mrs. Sharp, that she was the daughter of the late Dr. Norman Macleod, that she was Nora Hopper and W. B. Yeats in unison, that she was a syndicate of young Celtic authors, that she was a Fleet Street journalist, that she was Irish and that her real name was Charles O'Connor, and even that she was Maud Gonne. Miss Macleod comes of an old, Highland, Catholic family of that name. She was born in the Southern Hebrides, and much of her childhood was passed in the Outer Hebrides, in the Inner Hebrides and the West Highlands of Scotland. The island of Innisron in her first romance, "Pharais," is believed to be a remote island where in childhood she spent many summers. So, too, certain incidents in the portraiture of the heroine Lora occurring in the same romance are, to some extent, founded upon her own personal experience. During the past eight years, Miss Macleod has wielded a busy pen. In addition to the romance already mentioned, she has published, among others, the following works: "The Mountain Lovers," "The Sin-Eater," "The Washer of the Ford," "Green Fire," "From the Hills of Dream," "The Dominion of Dreams," "The Divine Adventure," "The Immortal Hour," "Trostan and Yseul."

W. H. LAWTON

has long been identified with the business of life-insurance, so that he writes with the advantage of the illumination afforded by personal interest, extended experience and intimate knowledge. He is the manager of the agency, in one of the largest cities in the country, of an important insurance company.

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George W. E. Russell

was educated at Harrow and University College, Oxford. He was representative in Parliament for Aylesbury from 1880 to 1885, and for North Bedfordshire from 1892 to 1895. He has also been at various periods Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, Under-Secretary of State for India, Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, Alderman of the City Council of London, and Chairman of the Churchmen's Liberation League. He has published several books.

O. F. Lewis

is Professor of German in the University of Maine. He has taken a deep interest in the social and economic conditions prevailing in American colleges and universities, and his article in this number is based upon information received from the presidents of a large number of academic institutions in all parts of the country.

Ernest K. Coulter,

Deputy-Clerk of New York's Children's Court, was born in Columbus, Ohio, in 1871. While a student at the Ohio State University, he became interested in the work of prison reform and the immigration problem, and an article which he wrote on the former subject was extensively published. On leaving college, Mr. Coulter entered the field of journalism, and was connected, successively, with the "Pittsburgh Dispatch," the "New York Herald," and the "Evening Sun." He received his present appointment from the Justices of the Court of Special Sessions when the Children's Court was established two years ago.

Hugh H. Lusk,

a native of England, acquired an intimate knowledge of the political, social, economic and industrial conditions which exist in Australasia, in the course of a long residence in that part of the world. He practiced as a barrister, for many years, both in New Zealand and New South Wales. When in New Zealand, he interested himself in the politics of that colony and for eight years had a seat in the Legislature. Mr. Lusk spent a number of years in the United States studying the customs and institutions of the great American Republic, and recently returned to his home on the island continent on

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the other side of the globe, where he has resumed his activity in connection with the public affairs of Australia.

JOSEPH S. AUERBACH

was graduated from the Academic and Law Departments of New York University in 1875 and 1877, respectively. He is a member of the law firm of Davies, Stone & Auerbach, who, in court and in private consultation, represent many of the larger corporate and financial interests centering in the city of New York.

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